Christ and other Masters:

AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY

INTO SOME OF

THE CHIEF PARALLELISMS AND CONTRASTS BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY

AND THE

RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD.

With special reference to prevailing Difficulties and Objections.

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PART III.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 88, line 16, *for* pontiffs *read* pontiff
— 107, — 4, *for* cause *read* caused

INTRODUCTION.

'Behold, these shall come from far; and lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim.'

A REVIEWER of the second Part of 'CHRIST AND OTHER MASTERS' put on record his conviction that 'the very centre of the controversy' now waging between the Christian faith and its assailants is 'the point I have been hitherto attempting to elucidate. 'Discussions of particular doctrines are,' he argues, 'secondary to this deeper question,' touching the main relations of the Gospel to other ancient systems, and the cogency of claims, which it advances, not as a philosophy among philosophies, but rather as the living and life-giving 'Word of God,' which offers a continuous attestation of its supernatural origin by working mightily in them that believe (1 Thess. ii. 13). Assured that all solutions of this problem, which deserve the name of rational and philosophic, must materially depend upon the clearness of our insight into the distinctive genius of each system, or, in other words, involve an accurate knowledge both of what it really was and what it actually achieved, I shall endeavour in the following pages to conduct the reader through a fresh department of heathendom, selecting for review those wild and multifarious creeds which flourished in localities remote from the original haunts of man, and in all likelihood completely foreign to the sphere of Hebrew influence. When the mind is once familiarized with charac-

INTROD. *Object of this work re-stated.*

INTROD. teristic principles of such outlying systems we shall find ourselves more able to discuss the several points of correspondence which are said to have resulted from long years of intercourse between the earlier Hebrews and Egyptians on the one side, or the later Hebrews and the Medes and Persians on the other.

Particular field of inquiry.

As I cannot hope to furnish satisfactory reports from all the single provinces of ancient heathendom, my plan is to devote one special chapter of this Part to China, a second to Mexico, and a third to some of the more dominant islands of the Eastern and Southern Ocean, in the hope that by so doing the important phases of religious sentiment will each in turn have been submitted to the reader for reflection and comparison.

If ever it be possible to ascertain the independent workings of the natural heart of man, such knowledge may especially be sought in regions now before us. There whatever forms of civilisation have existed seem the native and, as one might think, spontaneous products of the soil. The glimmerings of tradition are more faint and more unsteady. They who knowing God refuse to glorify Him as God are eventually abandoned to their own devices; and amid the anxious gropings after truth which follow that terrific obscuration of the moral consciousness, we see a fresh exemplification of the sacred story, where the younger son, having gathered all together, takes his journey into a far country; yet too often when the land of his adoption has been stricken by some 'mighty famine,' none is found to answer his despairing cry for bread, nor fill the aching void within him.

There are still, indeed, sufficient indications in the darkest depths of heathendom, that man is everywhere the selfsame being, open to the same appeals, and giving utterance to the same emotions, conscious of incurable discord in the elements of his moral nature, lifting up his heart to heaven, and yearning after some emancipation from the iron yoke of evil. Hence it is that in all creeds whatever certain points emerge where natural and revealed religion seem to touch, and where they almost promise to embrace each other. Yet on close examination nearly all the chief suggestions which they offer in the hope of healing and exalting our depraved humanity are found to be divergent, not to say antagonistic. They proceed from very different thoughts of God, of man and of the universe; and therefore differ both as to the meaning and the method of redemption. If I here abstain from dwelling largely on these numerous contrasts and divergencies, the reader who possesses any adequate knowledge of Christianity will hardly fail, in passing, to remedy the defect. For such a class of persons, it should be remembered, I am now engaged in writing. It is not my leading object to conciliate the more thoughtful minds of heathendom in favour of the Christian faith. However laudable that task may be, however fitly it may occupy the highest and the keenest intellect of persons who desire to further the advance of truth and holiness among our heathen fellow-subjects, there are difficulties nearer home, which may in fairness be regarded as possessing prior claims on the attention of a Christian advocate. My aim, accordingly, will be to shew by strict

INTROD. *Revealed and unrevealed religion.*

INTROD. analysis of ancient systems that as none of these could possibly have given birth to Christianity, so neither does the knowledge thence derivable of what has been attained by man's unaided efforts warrant a presumption that any merely human agent could originate that system of harmonious mysteries, whose life and centre is the Crucifixion of the 'Lord from heaven.'

Modern heathenism.

I may also be allowed to add, that in the present chapters the more thoughtful reader will not fail to recognise the proper tendency of certain current speculations, which are recommended to us on the ground that they accord entirely with the last discoveries of science, and embody the deliberate verdicts of the oracle within us. Notwithstanding all that has been urged in their behalf, those theories are little more than a return to long-exploded errors, a resuscitation of extinct volcanoes; or at best they merely offer to introduce among us an array of civilising agencies, which after trial in other countries have been all found wanting. The governing class of China, for example, have been long familiar with the metaphysics of Spinosa. They have also carried out the social principles of M. Comte upon the largest possible scale. For ages they have been 'what people of the present day are wishing to become in Europe[1],'—with this difference only, that the heathen legislator who had lost all faith in God attempted to redress the wrongs and elevate the moral status of his subjects, by the study of political science or devising some new scheme of general sociology: while the 'positive' philosopher of the present day who

[1] Huc, *Le Christianisme en Chine*, &c. I. 358, Paris, 1857.

has relapsed into the same positions is in every case rejecting a religious system which has proved itself the mightiest of all civilisers, and the constant champion of the rights and dignity of man. He offers in the stead of Christianity a specious phase of neo-paganism, by which the nineteenth century after Christ may be assimilated to the golden age of Mencius and Confucius; or, in other words, may consummate its intellectual freedom, and attain the highest pinnacle of human progress, by reverting to a state of childhood and of moral imbecility. INTROD.

CHAPTER I.

Religions of China.

'Die Chinesische Religion ist eine schlechterdings selbstgemachte des natürlichen Menschen, so ungestört von fremden Einflüssen, wie keine andere. Wir dürfen uns daher auch nicht wundern, wenn wir in ihr merkwürdige Berührungs-punkte mit den Lehren eines modernen Heidenthums unter christlichen Völkern finden.'

Importance of the subject.

If China were regarded simply as one spacious hive of human beings, all proceeding with instinctive art and order to fulfil the various tasks prescribed by the superior powers, the investigation of successive phases in its mental history might well attract the interest and excite the musings both of statesmen and philanthropists. They see unrolled before them the eventful annals of an empire whose prodigious population far outnumbers that of all the Indo-European family.

Antiquity of Chinese civilisation.

But inquiries such as we are prosecuting in these chapters will have stronger and more sacred claims upon the sympathies of every philosophic Christian. China, he remembers, is the birthplace of the oldest institutions known to history, the centre of the most enduring civilisation in the world. However much of wild pretension has in course of time been pruned away by critics from the semi-legendary archives of most other countries, those of China, it is still conceded even by the more sagacious of our modern scholars, have not suffered in their passage through the literary

ordeal. There is reason to believe that portions of her present territory were the seat of thriving and of fully organised communities not less than two thousand years before the Christian era[1]. It is true, indeed, that of surviving records none may in their extant form be much anterior to the birth of Herodotus. It may be questioned also whether the Chinese have ever had a series of regular annals stretching to a more remote antiquity than the commencement of the Greek Olympiads or the first Assyrian conquests in the Holy Land; but inasmuch as all accounts which have been left us, from that epoch downwards, bear a perfectly historic impress, it is probable that fragmentary notices of ancient China which profess to have come orally from very primitive ages, are, at least in all their broader outlines, worthy of the credit which has been awarded to them by the modern sinologue. Before the name of the Middle Kingdom had been ever uttered in the learned halls and avenues of the Athenian Academy; before the eagle of the Roman legions, thirsting after universal sway, had tried its earliest flight across the Central Apennines; before the English of that ancient world, the colonising merchants of Phœnicia, had unfurled their sail upon the waves of the Atlantic, and trafficked in the precious metals on the coasts of Albion and Ierne,—large communities of settlers stretching far across the plateau of Upper Asia were already living under the patriarchal rule of

[1] See, for instance, Prof. Neumann's paper in the *Journal Asiatique* (1834), tome XIV. pp. 50 sq.; and Prichard's *Researches*, IV. 476—480. Gutzlaff, in like manner, dates the commencement of the historical period from the accession of the Hëa dynasty B.C. 2207: *Chinese History*, I. 75.

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great and powerful princes. Chinese ports were even then frequented by adventurous traders from Ceylon, from India, from the Persian Gulf. A knowledge of Chinese astronomy found its way beyond the mountains and took root in northern Hindustan[1]. The products of the almost fabulous industry of China had established their reputation in countries lying farther to the west; nay, cups of Chinese porcelain, inscribed with her peculiar symbols, had been buried in the ancient sepulchres of Egypt[2]. Or, looking from our modern point of view, we find that ages after the distinctive nationality alike of Egypt and Phœnicia is obliterated, or absorbed in that of their oppressors; when both Nineveh and Babylon are swept away, and other races strange in tongue and stranger still in spirit are exploring the vast pile of ruins and are bent on disinterring one by one the trophies of the former masters of the eastern world, few changes have come over the ideas, the habits, or the institutions of the Middle Kingdom. China is China still. Her arts, her laws, her customs, the more sacred and more classic portion of her writings, most of all her marvellously characteristic language in its various dialects, continue to be everywhere diffused[3]; while far beyond the proper limits of her

Permanence and wide diffusion of Chinese civilisation.

[1] Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* I. 742.

[2] Gfrörer, *Urgesch. des menschlichen Geschlechts*, p. 214, Schaffhausen, 1855, in his allusion to this fact, exclaims most naturally, 'Welcher Blick in die graue Urzeit öffnet sich uns hier!' The subject is discussed at length in Sir John F. Davis's *China*, II. 72 sq. Lond. 1841.

[3] A few mountaineers, however, still continue to hold out against the civilisation of the great mass of the Chinese: Prichard, IV. 487 sq. According to Duhalde, there cited, the unconquered Miao-sse 'have not adopted the religion of the Lama, but still remain devoted to the superstition which appears to have been the primitive one in all eastern Asia, namely, that termed *Shamanism*:' see Part II. pp. 212, 213.

empire she impresses the peculiar genius of her policy and civilisation, from the borders of Siberia to the snowy chain of Shang-gan-Alin and the easternmost extremity of Japan. It is computed that the circle of Chinese influence at the present day embraces a population of not less than four hundred millions of human beings.

External and internal disturbances.

We cannot urge, indeed, that China has been utterly exempted from all foreign perturbations. The great wave of Huns, which, propagating itself beyond the Don and Danube, had ultimately, under Attila, produced confusion in the capital of the Roman world, originated in the upper valley of the Hoang-ho, from whence it had been forced in new directions by the vigorous unity of Chinese rulers; and at last when their dominions were invaded, and in part subdued, by hordes of Mongols and Mandshurs, it is remarkable that like the Visigoths and Lombards, who ravaged all the fairest plains of southern Europe, the invader found the reigning civilisation far too strong for him; he was himself led captive; he bowed before the ancient language and majestic institutions of the very nation he had spoiled. The Chinese empire has moreover experienced the disturbing influence of religious controversy, and a large proportion of the people have been fascinated by a creed whose birth-place was in central India: yet here again the genius of the Chinese state-religion proved itself so dominant that no sensible changes have been thus effected in any part of the political or social machinery.

Moral and spiritual isolation.

And corresponding to the wide extent of China, to the permanence of her institutions, and the con-

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sciousness of her superior rank among the Asiatic tribes, has been her tendency to look on others with indifference or contempt and her unconquerable isolation. Long before the inroads of the Tatars made it necessary to protect her people by building the Great Wall, a spiritual barrier was in process of erection. China grew into a kind of homogeneous world within herself: the China-man was virtually cut off in sympathy from every other nation, just as much as if his lot were cast in some distant planet. The Middle Kingdom was and is to him the centre of the universe; all others, they of the 'Great Western Ocean[1]' not excepted, being mere extremities or pendants. Hence had sprung not only the distinct and thoroughly national character of almost everything which called itself Chinese, but also the monotonous air pervading every single feature of that nationality. Arts, manners, and religion in so far as it is really indigenous, appear to have been cast in precisely the same mould. As in the physical characteristics of the nation, the old traits almost universally recur, the same dark eye with its oblique expression, the same black hair, the same tawny skin, so in their mental temperament and moral qualities the uniformity is no less manifest. As a people the Chinese are shrewd and clever, calculating, sordid, plodding and prosaic[2], enterprising, fraudulent and gambling, strong in worldly wisdom, wanting in religious fervour and

Natural characteristics of the Chinese.

[1] A specimen of Chinese impressions respecting Europeans (who are called the people of 'Ta-se-yang,'= 'the Great Western Ocean,') may be seen in Prof. Neumann's *Preface* to his version of the Chinese *History of the Pirates*, pp. xxii. sq.

[2] 'A partir de l'époque historique, on ne rencontre plus que ce qu'on pourrait appeler de la prose, et du sens commun.' Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 43, Paris, 1839.

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in moral sensibility; while, in spite of the unparalleled extent of popular education, all the higher intellectual faculties, with very rare exceptions, have remained from age to age imbecile and inert.

China-man and Hindu contrasted.

These properties of the China-man are best appreciated on contrasting him for a moment with his Hindu neighbour[1]. In the Áryan race, as early as their first descent on northern India, the imagination is ever asserting its predominance. Their favourite mythes are all of a peculiar wildness and exuberance; they revel in the vague, the vast, the allegorical, the shadowy, the mysterious. In China, on the contrary, imagination exercises very little influence. Relics of the early poetry, in

[1] We have a curious account of the Chinese and their ancient civilisation, written by one of themselves (in the *Vie et Voyages de Hiouen-Thsang*, pp. 230, 231; ed. Julien, Paris, 1853):

The Buddhists of India wished to detain this pilgrim, urging that the Buddha was not born in China, and that the Chinese were *Mie-li-tch'e* (Mléch-chhas, 'barbarians'). It was also added, that 'les vues des habitants sont étroites et leurs souillures profondes.' Then comes the answer of the China-man:

'Le roi de la loi [*i. e.* the Buddha] a fondé sa doctrine pour qu'elle se répandit en tous lieux; quel est l'homme qui voudrait s'en abreuver tout seul et délaisser ceux qui ne l'ont pas encore reçue? Or, dans ce royaume (en Chine), les magistrats sont graves et les lois sont observées avec respect. Le prince se distingue par sa haute vertu et ses sujets par leur loyauté; les pères par leur affection, les fils par leur pieuse obéissance. On y estime l'humanité et la justice, et l'on place au premier rang les vieillards et les sages. Ce n'est pas tout: la science n'a pas de mystères pour eux; leur pénétration égale celle des esprits; le ciel leur sert de modèle et ils savent calculer les mouvements des sept chartes (du soleil, de la lune et des cinq planètes). Ils ont inventé (toutes sortes) d'instrumens, divisé les saisons de l'année et découvert les propriétés cachées des six tons de la musique. C'est pour cela qu'ils ont pu expulser ou soumettre les animaux sauvages, toucher et faire descendre les démons et les esprits, calmer (les influences contraires du) *In* et du *Yang* [the male and female principles in nature, the harmony of which is essential to the well-being of creation], et procurer la paix et le bonheur à tous les êtres.' In the *Laws of Manu* (x. 43, 44) the *Chinas* are reckoned among those Kshatriyas, who had been debased through their neglect of sacred rites and through their want of intercourse with Bráhmans.

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which, if ever, we might hope to trace the operation of this class of faculties, are seldom more than tame and frigid representations of ordinary life. Excepting one important school[1] whose Indian tastes and predilections are continually betrayed, the Chinese have no primitive mythus, corresponding to the vivid and romantic imagery in which different tribes of man had veiled their worship of external nature, or idealised the legends of their simple forefathers. All in China is more common-place, more tangible, more practical, more real. 'What the Chinese cannot comprehend with the natural understanding exists not for them, and is an object of their derision.' Hence the Bráhman comes to be esteemed by learned followers of Confucius a mere dreamer and fanatic; while in his opinion they are abject and plebeian spirits, selfish, sordid, and materialistic. He disparages the world around him on the plea that it is only an illusion, acting as the transient mirror of the supernatural and enduring: they as absolutely yield themselves to the dominion of the seen and temporal; they long for nothing higher.

Primeval traditions of the Chinese.

On proceeding to investigate the early history of 'these utilitarians of the ancient world,' their own traditions[2] uniformly point us backward to the mountains of the west,—the sources of those mighty streams that fertilize the whole of central China,

[1] This school, the *Tao-sse* (respecting whom, see below, § 2) had a mythology in many points resembling that of the Greeks and Romans. A judicious writer on Chinese institutions in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* (1854), v série, tome IV. p. 314, says that he has read some of the Tao-sse dramas, and found in them the fable of Epimenides, the fable of Niobe, the fable of Venus issuing from the sea after Saturn had thrown into it a magical composition, the representation of Neptune armed with a trident, &c.

[2] Prichard, IV. 478 sq.; Gfrörer, pp. 217 sq. The latter is of opinion that the Chinese have all sprung from a Turanian stock.

and the spot to which the memory afterwards reverted as the paradise of primitive man and as the cradle of all natural and preternatural being[1]. When the Chinese issued from their native highlands they appear to have first occupied the numerous valleys of the Kwan-lun, and most writers on the subject have conjectured from the simple genius of their language, its monosyllabic forms, its want of organisation, and its very limited affinities with foreign idioms[2], that their isolation from the rest of men was dated from a very distant period. In the earliest dawn of history, we see them like the other shepherd-tribes of central Asia, wandering onward with their eyes directed to the pastures of the south and east; yet in the meanwhile little higher in the scale of civilisation than the Bushmen of the present century[3]. Their dress consisted of the skins of animals; their food of roots and insects. From this depth of barbarism the legends tell us how they finally emerged at the command of early emperors,—a representation savouring, it is true, of ages when the state-machinery was fully organised, but well adapted to convey the notion, that material progress flowed in their case from administrative ability. When due allowance has been also made for some of the ideal excellencies ascribed to early kings and statesmen, it is obvious that the march of ancient China in acquiring all the arts of settled life was most extraordinarily

[1] Cf. Part II. pp. 132 sq. on the Mahá-Méru of the ancient A'ryans, corresponding to this legend. Other features of the Chinese paradise will be found in Lüken's *Traditionen*, p. 67, Münster, 1856.

[2] Prichard, IV. 481: cf. the 'Introduction,' prefixed to M. Biot's edition of the *Tcheou-Li*, Paris, 1851, pp. v. sq.

[3] Gutzlaff, I. 124 sq. Pauthier, pp. 33 sq.

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Culmination of Chinese civilisation.

rapid. The whole empire seems as if it sprang directly from a savage to a civilised condition by one mighty bound; but, having exhausted all its elasticity in this single effort, had been afterwards reduced as rapidly into a stiff and spiritless automaton. The borders of the Chinese empire were at first indeed comparatively narrow. In the seventh century before Christ they had extended only so far as to embrace five out of the present eighteen districts; while beyond them and around them lay a multitude of barbarous people whom it was their object to subdue and humanize. As early, however, as the second century of the Christian era, the huge system of Chinese administration had received its finishing touch. The emperor was everywhere regarded as the centre and moving principle of the whole machinery: government-schools, which had been planted long before, were now enlarged and multiplied in every quarter: while literary merit, tested by competitive examinations[1] in a number of accredited books, became the single passport to promotion in the public service.

Religious phases.

With these cursory observations on the state of ancient China, I proceed to notice the peculiar forms and phases under which religion has been there diffused among the people.

The number of such forms is three:

1. The State-religion, as re-modelled by Confucius.
2. Tao-ism, or School of the fixed Way.
3. Fo-ism, or Chinese Buddhism.

[1] Meadows, *The Chinese and their Rebellions*, pp. 402 sq. Lond. 1856.

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§ 1. *Confucianism.*

The civilisation of ancient China, as of other Eastern states[1], is founded mainly on one class of writings, which are held to be deserving of especial honour. These the China-man entitles *king*, or, with peculiar emphasis, 'the books.' As might perhaps have been predicted from the general texture and constitution of his mind, he never thinks of God as of a Being who reveals Himself objectively to man, and therefore manifests no faith in any kind of supernatural religion. Yet the Chinese seldom fail to draw distinctions between the authority of the *king* and every other class of ancient writings. The 'holy man[2]' (*shing-jin*) is said to have possessed instinctively the power of diving to the bottom of metaphysical discussions, and of yielding a spontaneous obedience to the promptings of the pure and perfect nature he inherited in common with the rest of men. His teachings therefore on their first enunciation are all absolutely true: they rank far higher than the works of those who are entitled 'sages' (*heen-jin*), but who only rise to full perception of religious truth, and practise all the higher virtues, after painful and assiduous cultivation.

Sacred books.

In this chain of 'holy men' the foremost link was Fuh-he, the reputed founder of Chinese civili-

The Yih-king.

[1] Differing, in this respect, from Greece and Rome, where in the absence of 'sacred' books, there was a much freer development of human thought. Pauthier seems to be of opinion that the *king* bear a strong resemblance to the *Védas* in the general character of their contents ('non pour le contenu mais pour l'espèce du contenu'); and adds that this conformity 'n'est peut-être pas purement due au hasard.'

[2] Meadows, as above, pp. 347, 348.

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sation and author of the oldest of the 'sacred' books, —the *Yih-king*[1]. It is not my purpose to insist at present on the legend where Fuh-he, escaping from the waters of a deluge, re-appears as the first man at the production of a renovated world, nor on the fact that he is there attended by *seven* companions, his wife, his three sons, and three daughters[2], by whose inter-marriage the whole circle of the universe is finally completed. His work is even more mysterious than his personal history. 'The wisest among the Chinese have entered this labyrinth, but only to come out of it more bewildered.' It may be described as an expanded form of ancient and recondite speculations on the nature of the universe in general, the harmonious action of the elements and periodic changes of creation. These ideas were primarily expressed by means of eight peculiar diagrams (*kwa*), which constitute the basis of natural philosophy as well as of religion. Yet the work professing to unriddle all the mysteries which are believed to have been latent in those venerable signs, was treated as a series of enigmas in the classic age of Chinese literature; and so capricious were the expositions to which the *Yih-king* was submitted, that instead of being as at first a cosmological essay it became eventually a standard treatise on ethical philosophy.

[1] The best edition 'ex interpret. Regis' is that of Mohl, Stuttg. 1834-1839. This annotator was Wăn-wang, 'the literary prince' and founder of the Chow dynasty, who during his imprisonment (B.C. 1144-1142) arranged the diagrams of Fuh-he on different principles. His re-arrangement and expositions, as completed by his son, Chow-kung, became the text of the earliest of the Chinese sacred, or canonical, books.

[2] See Mr M'Clatchie's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (1856), XVI. 403, 404, where it is contended that in Fuh-he and his family we may recognise Noah and the second parents of the human race: cf. Gutzlaff, I. 129, 130, Wuttke, II, 100, 101.

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The Shoo-king.

The second of the Chinese 'sacred' books is called the *Shoo-king*[1], which, as more historic and intelligible than its predecessor, has been everywhere esteemed the chief authority in tracing out the spiritual development of the Middle Kingdom. It commences with the reign of Yaou, one of the very earliest emperors, and stretches onward to the life-time of Confucius: while the moral and political maxims it contains have formed the text on which the ingenuity and erudition of the native commentators have been exercised for ages. The vast importance of the *Shoo-king* in directing the national mind of China was never more evinced than in the desperate efforts to suppress it during the reign of Che-hwang-te, the scourge of the barbaric Huns and the projector of the Great Wall (about 240 B.C.). This able tyrant, anxious to uproot the old traditions and to render everything Chinese dependent on his beck, had spared the copies of the enigmatical *Yih-king;* but all other books, both secular and sacred, had, with very rare exceptions, been committed to the flames[2].

The She-king.

The *She-king*[3] is the third authoritative document that serves to illustrate the general course of Chinese civilisation. It comprises 311 odes and other lyrics, for the most part moral in their tone, and sometimes breathing in the midst of tender sentiments and deep regrets a freshness and simplicity entirely characteristic of the earliest ages of

[1] See *Le Chou-king*, ed. De Guignes, Paris, 1770; and *Livres Sacrés de l' Orient*, par Pauthier, Paris, 1842. Gutzlaff, speaking of the *Shoo-king*, says that 'it forms the great text-book, upon which all Chinese literati have expatiated.' (I. 127).

[2] Gutzlaff, I. 223, 224: Meadows, pp. 333, 334.

[3] See *Chi-king, sive Liber Carminum*, ed. Mohl, Stuttg. 1830.

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mankind. The ancient bard appears more conscious than the modern China-man of some corruption cleaving to the human family as a whole; and here and there we trace an ardent aspiration after some more lofty stage of being, which, as time went over, was completely stifled by the growing love of pelf, and the incurable self-sufficiency engendered in the heart of the Chinese.

Other sacred books.

Inferior only in authority to works already mentioned, is the Chinese book of rites and manners, *Le-ke*[1], which, prescribing as it did for all relationships of life and all the various orders of society, established everywhere unnatural stiffness and fastidious decorum. Other writings[2], nearly if not altogether standing on the same superior level, might be added to this series; but in it we have the principal monuments of the older race of 'holy men,' and therefore the great bases of all Chinese history and ethics, politics, philosophy and religion.

Rise of Confucianism proper.

It appears, however, highly probable that several changes were effected in the ancient creed of China during the fifth and sixth centuries before the promulgation of the Gospel. In Kong-fu-tse (a name which missionaries from the west have Latinized into Confucius), we behold the 'prince' of Chinese 'wisdom,' or the second founder of the

[1] See *Le Li-Ki, ou Mémorial des Rites*, ed. Callery, Turin, 1853.

[2] It is usual to speak of the four works above noticed, together with the *Tsun-tsew*, (an historical composition of Confucius), as the Five Sacred writings (*Woo-king*): see Mohl's *Pref.* to the *Yih-king*, pp. 79 sq. But the *Ta-hëo* (or 'great doctrine' ed. Pauthier, Paris, 1837), the *Chung-Yung* (ed. Abel-Rémusat), the *Lun-yu* (ed. Schott), and the *Hi-tse*, all emanating directly from the school of Confucius, though not always written by himself, are held to be co-ordinate authorities in favour of the state-religion. Next in order stand the works of Mencius (Meng-tse), who died about 317 B.C. His various treatises are edited by M. Stanislas Julien, Paris, 1824.

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state-religion; and as all the ancient documents were then submitted to inspection and revision[1], it is rather to Confucius than to Fuh-he, or to other ancient worthies, that the ruling forms of civilisation in the Middle Kingdom must be ultimately referred.

General aim of Confucius.

The labours of Confucius constituted a fresh epoch in the mental progress of the Indo-Chinese world. He comes upon the theatre of history soon after the demise of a reformer, who in various points is most unlike him. Śákya-muni died, as we saw reason to believe[2], in 543 B.C.: Confucius was born in 551 B.C. Addicted in his early boyhood to the study of the ancient records[3], he acquired a habit of contrasting the disorders and demoralisation of his age with the ideal pictures there presented of the primitive line of Chinese kings. The heavenly maxims of a Yaou, the stern and simple virtues of a Shun, the perfect system of administration that had characterised the golden age of Yu, these all excited the unbounded admiration of Confucius; and at the early age of three-and-twenty he conceived the thought of leading back his fellow-subjects to the ancient models. It was the predominant force of this idea that afterwards impelled Confucius during his long life

[1] Meadows, p. 332, who remarks: 'It is well known that he expressly repudiated portions of the ancient literature, as containing doctrines adverse to the views which he held and strove to diffuse. The names only of some celebrated ancient books, one dating from the times of Fuh-he himself, have been preserved.'

[2] In Part II. p. 54.

[3] See the ample sketch of his life and writings in Pauthier's *Chine*, pp. 121—186. The collected works of Confucius were published, with an English translation, by Marshman at Serampore, in 1809; and with a German translation at Berlin (1826—1832), under the editorship of Dr Schott.

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to visit several courts of Chinese princes, among whom the country had been subdivided, and in some few cases he was actually allowed to try his grand experiment as a political and social reformer. But his course as he advanced was very far from prosperous. The importance given to virtue as the proper basis of good government exposed him to the scorn of some and the malignity of others. The last words he uttered savour not of hope and exultation, but of bitter disappointment. During his life, however, an enthusiastic band of followers had begun to cluster round him; and after rearing his modest tomb upon the banks of the Soo river, they proceeded with untiring industry to methodise his principles and circulate his writings. 'My doctrine' he had constantly declared[1] 'is that which all men ought to follow. It is the doctrine of Yaou and of Shun. As for my way of teaching, it is perfectly simple. I cite the patterns left us by the ancients. I counsel men to read the sacred books (*king*), and I require them to form the habit of reflecting on the various maxims there preserved.' Accordingly the principal ground on which Confucianism has ever rested its appeal is narrow, and the ruling spirit of the system cautious and conservative. It promised that the old traditions of the country should be sacredly collected and as sacredly embalmed; and very much of the success it ultimately won is due to its profession of respect for social and political precepts current in the governing class, and the effectual aids it thereby rendered in maturing and consolidating the nationality of China.

[1] In Pauthier, p. 134.

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But although the fashion was to eulogize the founder of this system as the last and brightest of the Chinese 'holy men,' and though an obvious tendency of all the 'reformations' he promoted was to deaden the activity of the human intellect, and make the future ages a mere reproduction of the past, we are not justified in arguing that the mind of the Chinese did actually subside at once into a state of apathy and torpor[1]. On the contrary it seems as if the fluctuations of religious thought were not less numerous in Peking than in the eastern capital of the Cæsars.

Alleged finality of his changes.

Taking no account of those great movements which ran counter to the state-religion, and as such will be considered separately, we find that under the nineteenth or Sung dynasty (extending from A. D. 960 to A. D. 1279), the general tone of Chinese 'orthodoxy' had experienced an important modification. As the earlier changes synchronized with various tokens of activity in the western world, Confucius being the contemporary of Pythagoras and his greatest follower Mencius the contemporary of Aristotle, so the epoch that beheld the first advances of the Christian schoolmen and the growth of speculative Judaism in writers like Maimonides, was also that in which the doctors of the Middle Kingdom laboured to evolve a definite and coherent system of philosophy from the writings of their ancient sages. Whether traceable, as some

Intellectual activity in China.

[1] Prof. Neumann's remark is perhaps exaggerated, but there is no reason for doubting its substantial truth: 'Das Mittelreich zeigt nicht weniger *geistige* und politische Revolutionen als andere Theile der Welt.' See his valuable contribution on 'Die Natur- und Religionsphilosophie der Chinesen,' in Illgen's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie* (1837), VII. 19.

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conjecture[1], to the agency of printing which had been invented and established with imperial sanction as early as the middle of the tenth century; or whether, as might also be conjectured, some at least of the new impulse was communicated to the governing classes by the rapid growth of Buddhism and the consequent infusion of a Hindu spirit, there can be no doubt that China was producing a new race of scholars marked by greater aptitude for metaphysical speculations. Their philosophizings, it is true, were based on the received traditions of the ancient writers, with whom at every turn they claim a spiritual fellowship[2]; yet all had grown more conscious that in order for the state-religion to retain its old supremacy and crush or counteract the innovations now rampant in all quarters, it must coin a more scholastic terminology, must grapple with a harder class of questions, and must speak out far more plainly not on matters of finance, economy and etiquette, but on the nature of the world and its inhabitants, and the true relation of the seen and temporal to the Absolute and All-embracing.

Choo-he and his influence.

The philosopher who guided this great move-

[1] *e.g.* Meadows, p. 334, who remarks: 'The originative capacities of many minds, which would otherwise have lain dormant in unlettered ignorance, must have been brought [by the cheapening of books] into fruitful action in the fields of philosophical speculation and historical inquiry.'

[2] The following clear testimony is from the philosopher, Choo-he (Tschu-hi), translated by Neumann, as above, p. 21: 'Kong [Confucius], Meng [Mencius], Tsching und Tschang [both of whom flourished 1000 years after Christ] sind die vier berühmten Stützen unserer Lehre. Die Weisheit und die Untersuchung des Grundes aller Dinge ruht auf diesem festen Fundament: alle jene andern Lehrer haben sicherlich geirrt. Nur diese vier verehrt man als die Grundpfeiler der Weisheit; ihre Entfernung [in der Zeit] von Fohi [Fuh-he] will wenig sagen: *sie verbindet das gleiche Princip.*'

ment to a prosperous close was Choo-he, termed by European scholars the Aristotle of the Middle Kingdom, and revered by all the governing class of China as 'the prince of sciences.' The commentaries he has left behind on all the Chinese classics are a fraction only of his multitudinous writings; yet in them especially it was that Choo-he shaped the course which Chinese thought has very generally followed from his day to our own[1]. All statements on religious subjects which are not supported by appeals to his authority are branded as injurious and heretical; and since the millions who present themselves as candidates for office under government are constantly employed in learning his works by heart, it is most obvious that the influence he still exercises, whether as a guiding or a cramping agent, is incalculably vast. If the intelligence of China only reached its prime when first awakened by Confucius, it was passing through the phase of manhood, if not verging to a state of absolute senility, when Choo-he breathed his last in A. D. 1200.

Practical aspects of Confucianism.

What, then, may be deemed the leading features in the practical working of Confucianism, a system planted, there is reason for believing, in the twilight of the world's history but perfected as late as the concession of our Magna Charta?

The emperor.

In that system, as administered in every age, the emperor of China is the foremost object. Mounted on the 'dragon-throne,' as it is called, he is the mainspring of the whole machinery, whether his empire be regarded as a civil or religious institution. The laws indeed distinguish very clearly between the

[1] See Neumann, as above, pp. 22 sq., Meadows, pp. 335 sq., and M'Clatchie in *Journal of As. Soc.* (1856), XVI. 433.

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private and official status of the emperors; for as individuals they enjoy a privilege, granted also, with conditions, to their subjects, of choosing for themselves a second or subordinate creed, and emperors have at different times made very different choices[1]. But as every father of a Chinese family is constrained to recognise the state-religion by some special acts of homage, so the emperor himself, officially considered, must be always 'orthodox,' devoted to the maintenance of the sacred books as well as to the vindication of all ancient usages. These jointly form the rule according to which the various functions of the government must be directed; and so long as any emperor abstains from innovations in performing his public duties, he is honoured as the 'Son of Heaven,' the source and champion of established order, the exponent of mysterious principles which underlie the course of nature, and the organ of some powerful but impersonal energy that lingers round about us and above us. Heaven itself is present in him: he becomes in virtue of that presence a celestial potentate, not only the great chieftain of the Middle Kingdom, but a pattern of ideal excellence for every member of the human family.

Superiority of the imperial cultus,

It should also be observed that ever since the patriarchal times of Yu[2], the emperor has been invested with a twofold character. He is king and also priest of China: standing in the latter

[1] Thus, at the present day, the emperor as a private person adheres to Buddhism, which (so to speak) had mounted the imperial throne of China, as far back as the Ming dynasty: while under the Sung monarchs, the Tao-ists were equally in the ascendant. See an interesting article on Chinese institutions in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* (1854), IV. 292 sq.

[2] Gutzlaff, I. 142, 143.

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capacity at the head of a peculiar cultus, and declaring of himself in that relation, 'I am one man,' *i. e.* the only being of my kind[1]. As such he only has the privilege of uttering some hereditary form of prayer, and offering a more costly and more potent sacrifice than any other mortal[2]. The large group of mandarins, who form his agents in the task of government, have also, it is true, been each invested with a quasi-sacerdotal power; yet the objects whom they have the right to worship are esteemed of lower dignity,—as genii of the soil, the streams, the mountains; or malignant demons, haunting this or that locality; or elements and atmospheric agencies regarded in their nudest form, of wind, of drought, of rain, of lightning or of tempest. Accessories of the mandarinic worship also correspond to this idea of fundamental subordination and derived authority. The emperor, for example, sacrifices at the seat of government in temples which have been devoted to that special use: the mandarins officiate, on the contrary, in the provincial temples. The emperor is attired in sacerdotal vestments of peculiar hue and texture, and embroidered with numerous symbols of the sun, the moon, the planets, to betoken his exalted mission as the Heaven-born pontiff; while the mandarins in acts of public worship still preserve their ordinary dress. To sacrifice aright it is contended that the emperor must undergo a special course of training: he must fast on three conse-

to the mandarinic.

[1] See Mr S. C. Malan's recent volume entitled *Who is God in China?* pp. 186, 187.

[2] 'L'empereur a le droit de sacrifier au Ciel et à la Terre: les seigneurs sacrifient aux dieux tutélaires de l'empire,' &c., *Li-ki*, ed. Callery, p. 16. It also would appear as though fresh solemnity were given to the imperial sacrifice by offering on some occasions *in the open country*. *Ibid.* pp. 47, 60, 62, 119.

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cutive days; he must abstain from every kind of sensual gratification, and in order, as it seems, to check the least intrusion of a secular spirit, he must during those days take no part in the administration of public justice. On the contrary, the mandarins are bound by no such stringent regulations: they appear to act as civil rather than as sacerdotal functionaries. The disparity again is noticeable in the different kinds of sacrifices they are authorized to offer. When the emperor once a year, or in some grand emergency, comes forth to sacrifice, the victim chosen is a goodly ox, and not this merely, but an ox submitted to a searching process of purification[1], with the view, it is believed, of marking more distinctly the exalted nature of the rite and the superior dignity of the object in whose honour it is consumed: while in the various branches of the mandarinic cultus, incense and libations are the common offerings, or if otherwise, anxiety is seldom felt to offer up the costliest victim of its kind.

Want of moral sensibility in the established worship.

Yet even where the rites of China are most solemn and most obviously religious in their purport, it is difficult to trace in them a particle of zeal or fervour, least of all the consciousness of personal demerit[2]. The heart-broken ejaculations of the Hebrew penitent, gazing through his tears on symbols of the temple-worship which announce

[1] 'Il est assez curieux' says M. Callery (*Li-ki*, p. 63, n. 2) 'que les anciens Chinois aient admis, dans cette circonstance, la nécessité d'une purification, eux qui n'ont jamais attaché à rien aucune de ces idées *de souillure légale si communes chez les peuples sémitiques et chez les Hindous.*'

[2] 'In China trennt keine Sündenschuld die Menschheit von Gott; das menschliche Geschlecht ist nur in vereinzelten Erscheinungen abgewichen; und der Mensch ist ja seinem Wesen nach mit Gott eins, hat kein selbstständiges Dasein Gott gegenüber, ist noch nicht wahrhaft persönlicher Geist, der als solcher auch sündigend von Gott sich lösen könnte.'—Wuttke, II. 63.

the unapproachable holiness of God and whisper also of His love and placability; the spectral gloom of the ascetic, pining year by year beneath the shadow of some Indian fig-tree, in the hope of torturing out the remnant of his earthly passions, and so hastening the hour of ultimate reabsorption;—these are things entirely foreign to the cold and callous nature of Chinese. Whenever their great model, the imperial pontiff, offers up the yearly sacrifice to Heaven, it savours less of awe and adoration than of pride and self-complacency: it publishes the fact that harmony continues to subsist as heretofore between celestial and terrestrial powers: it certifies the oneness of the emperor in act and interest with the unseen spirit which pervades the universe and is directing all the fortunes of the Middle Kingdom. An exception to this general statement does exist, however: for, on one or more occasions in the lifetime of an emperor, we see him driven to adopt the lowly posture of the suppliant, and offer a more genuine sacrifice to Heaven. An army of barbarians, for example, hover on the frontiers; or an earthquake threatens to engulf some fertile district; or a pestilence is raging in the capital; or famine rouses and inflames the angry passions of the populace; rivers overflow their margin, crops are blasted, heaven and earth appear at enmity; or, worst of all, some brilliant comet, the precursor of dynastic changes, sheds a baleful light across the firmament. Excited and dismayed by these portentous incidents, the ruler of the Middle Kingdom seems to hesitate for once respecting the validity of his claim to be entitled 'Son of Heaven:' he fears lest, owing to some former negligence or present incapacity, his high

The emperor a penitent.

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commission is about to be withdrawn[1]. The only refuge open to him is in bowing to the terrible scourge by which he is chastised: 'he humbles himself before Heaven and his subjects, by publishing those self-accusatory and repentant documents, which Europeans peruse with surprise and ridicule, but which are wrung from his pride by his fears, and are earnest, trembling efforts to avert the execution of Divine justice[2].'

Worship of Earth as well as Heaven.

But the sacrifices offered up to Heaven were not the only rites, in which the Chinese emperor was seen invested with pontifical authority. A second temple where he had been long accustomed to officiate was dedicated in honour of the Earth, the great correlative divinity of ancient China. Hope, and joy, and gratitude, were periodically awakened in all quarters by the contemplation of the genial processes of nature. 'Earth,' men felt, 'is bearing in her lap whatever is found needful to our life: as Heaven suspends the luminaries overhead. From Earth we gather riches; to Heaven we look for good examples. It is fitting therefore to evince respect for Heaven, and pay a tribute of gratitude to Earth[3].' In other words, as we shall see hereafter, the Chinese have learned to worship two great Powers or Principles, the former ruling in the active and paternal province of creation, the second in the passive and maternal; and thus constituting, in popular phraseology, the Father and the Mother of all things.

Practical polytheism.

Passing by the manifold objects of religious worship which originated in the non-official creeds of China, we discover that Confucianists have also

[1] Meadows, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 19: cf. *Chou-king*, ed. De Guignes, pp. 141, 142.

[3] *Li-ki*, Ch. x. ed. Callery, p. 16.

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been accustomed from very early times to offer prayers and sacrifices to a multitude of minor deities. The parent-gods, or Heaven and Earth, were, so to speak, resolved into their various elements, in such a manner that the populace who felt no inclination to adore them as a whole might choose some favourite aspect or some special energy of nature, and so concentrate on it the principal share of their devotion.

Worship of genii and demons.

In this pantheon it would seem as though the highest place, in theory at least, had been allotted to a class of spiritual or quasi-spiritual intelligences, like the genii and the demons of other heathen systems: but the period when such modes of worship took their rise it is impossible to determine. The *Shoo-king*, as edited by Confucius, is not wanting in examples where the early emperors[1] of China sacrificed to spirits of the hills, and rivers, as well as to the shining host of heaven;—thus intimating that the usage may have been a remnant of the old 'Turanian' creed which lingers still as devil-worship, under many of its most appalling aspects, on the plains of upper Asia and apparently among a handful of the Chinese mountaineers. So deeply rooted was it in the heart of the people that Confucius was unable, or unwilling, to dislodge it[2].

Hero-worship.

But popular as every kind of spirit-worship is in China, she is even more addicted to the worship of departed men. This superstition forms a very prominent article in the creed of the Confucianist.

[1] Gfrörer, pp. 277 sq. Gutzlaff, I. 134.

[2] Medhurst's *China*, pp. 193, 194. Lond. 1857: "When one of his disciples asked him how he was to serve spiritual beings, he replied: 'Not being able to serve men, how can you serve spirits?'" In other words he chose to speak exclusively on different subjects.

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Originally suggested by the feelings of respect, of admiration and of gratitude, it issued in the deification of each man who had stood foremost in promoting the diffusion of some useful art, or who communicated some extraordinary impulse to the intellect of China by the fruitful produce of his pen. Confucius was himself an instance of the latter kind of deification. 'His fame,' writes one of his devoted followers[1], 'overflowed all China like a deluge, and extended to the barbarians. Wherever ships or carriages reach, wherever human strength penetrates, wherever the heavens cover and the earth sustains, wherever the sun and moon shed their light, wherever frost or dew falls, wherever there is blood and breath, there were none who did not approach and honour him: therefore, he is equal to Heaven:' *i. e.* co-ordinate and on a level with the very loftiest form of being. The whole empire is at present dotted over with temples sacred to the memory of Confucius, and a very large number of animal sacrifices (more than sixty thousand) are provided annually by the government for immolation to his manes, in addition to the multitudinous offerings brought by earnest individuals. Similar feelings are betrayed in the devotions which the more accomplished China-man perpetually addresses to Kwan-yu, the model of fidelity, of courage and of magnanimity: and every age contributes a fresh stock of inmates to the crowded pantheon[2], or displaces this or that divi-

Confucius an object of worship.

Worship of Kwan-yu, and others.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 192. Dr Medhurst adds: 'Thus have these atheistical people deified the man who taught them that matter was eternal, and that all existences originated in a mere principle.'

[2] See *Li-ki*, ed. Callery, p. 114. A very remarkable instance, shewing that this kind of apotheosis still goes on among them, will be found in the native *History of the Chinese Pirates*, translated by Neu-

nity whose worship had been general in the age preceding. CHAP. I.

Another feature of Chinese mythology, if such it can be called, is the comparative absence from it of licentious stories and revolting rites, like those already noticed[1] in the old religion of Phœnicia, and in fact pervading, more or less, all other dualistic creeds. The goddess-worship of *modern* China (for to this alone our evidence refers) has mainly found expression either in the deification of chaste wives or else in that of virgins. It is stated[2] even that the worship of one particular virgin, who is made the tutelary goddess both of women and of sailors, is the dominant superstition into which the heathenism of China is subsiding at the present day. How far such modification of religious thought may be connected with some slender knowledge of the Roman-catholic version of Christianity, I do not pause to determine. *Goddess-worship.*

But the phase of creature-worship, which from *Worship of ancestors:*

mann. We there read (pp. 43, 44) of a brave man, Shaou-yuen, who was killed A.D. 1809, while engaged in defending the citadel of Lan-shih: 'The villagers were greatly moved by his excellent behaviour; they erected him a temple, and said prayers before his effigy. It was then known what he meant [when he said] that he should be glorified in the course of the year. Now that twenty years are passed, they even honour him by exhibiting fire-works.'

[1] Part I. pp. 93, 94.

[2] The French writer in *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, as above, p. 295, is of opinion that this worship of the virgin, Kwan-yin, is more popular than any other. A mysterious reverence attaches to her name, and she is said to be the tutelary goddess of women. Her 'nativity' and 'assumption' are both celebrated. Gutzlaff (in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XVI. 79, 80) distinguishes between Kwan-yin, the goddess of mercy, who is thought to be of Hindu origin, and Ma-tsoo-poo, 'the holy Mother,' of Chinese origin. The worship of the latter was introduced, he writes, 'some centuries ago. She is so strikingly akin, in her whole character and figure, to the Virgin [of the Roman-catholic Church], that the Chinese at Macao call her *Santa Maria de China*. The sailors make her especially an object of adoration; and there are very few junks that have not an image of her on board. She is also accompanied by very dismal satellites, the executors of her behests.'

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very ancient times has constituted the special characteristic of heathenism in China, is the worship of departed ancestors. According, it would seem, with those ideas of clanship and those strong domestic instincts which have ever operated with peculiar force upon the spirit of the China-man, the custom of preserving some memorial of his forefathers grew at last into the custom of paying them religious honours. It was felt that 'as all created beings owe their origin to Heaven,' which is accordingly an object of the deepest veneration, 'so man owes his existence to his ancestors,' and ought to give them worship for this reason[1].

its universality:

To restore and justify the practice, which had previously been falling to decay, was one of the earliest reformations[2] attempted by Confucius: and at present it has been so universally recognised in China, by the learned and unlearned, by adherents of the state-religion and of non-official creeds[3], that we may point to it as to a common principle which more than any other penetrates the moral life of all Chinese society. 'Building a tomb in the form of a horse-shoe, they inscribe thereon the name of the deceased, erect a tablet to his memory in the hall of his ancestors, and repair annually to the graves, in order to prostrate themselves before the manes and to offer victuals to those hungry spirits[4].'

its meaning.

The precise intention of the sacrificer has been differently estimated by different

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, as above, p. 298.

[2] Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 127. The same practice, we may have occasion to remark hereafter, is also found in records of ancient Egypt.

[3] 'The Buddhists have taken advantage of this prevailing sentiment, and have grounded on it a variety of superstitious services.'—Medhurst, p. 212.

[4] Gutzlaff, I. 60, 61. On the ancient ceremonial, see the *Li-ki*, ed. Callery, p. 42.

writers. All agree, however, that no reference is made by him to moral guilt or to the reinstatement of departed souls in a position of primeval innocence. On the contrary, they are addressed as beings capable of giving aid and counsel to the meritorious of their progeny and also of inflicting vengeance on the fallen and unworthy[1]. To their own they occupy the place and wield the high prerogatives of the Supreme Being. The vulgar seem, indeed, to fancy that the appetite of the deceased is really gratified by feeding on the subtler portions of the food presented at his grave; and notions equally absurd appear, in later times at least, to be profusely indicated by the offering of a species of gilt-paper, covered with figures of houses and utensils, which becomes, on passing through the fire, available as the currency of the unseen world[2]. But other and more philosophic minds have uniformly repudiated this debased interpretation of their ancient customs. For example in the *Le-ke*, or authorised ritual of Confucianism, it is declared that the oblations to the manes should be understood *symbolically*, as meaning, 'That we ought to keep the dead before our eyes, and honour them as if they were still living[3].' On earth the

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Sacrificial paper.

[1] *Chou-king*, ed. De Guignes, pp. 116, 179. At other times, however, nothing is said of their immortality and present influence: they are commemorated or deplored as beings altogether of the past.

[2] *e. g.* Medhurst, pp. 213, 214, who adds: 'Besides transmitting money to the distressed and indigent spirits, the Chinese think it necessary to provide their ghostly friends with clothes, and other articles, adapted for their use in the shades below. With this view, they cause coats and garments to be delineated on paper, which pass through the fire, as certainly and as regularly as the paper-money, into the abodes of spirits.'

[3] *Li-ki*, ed. Callery, p. 121. Wuttke (II. 65, 66) has the following remarks on the rationale of this strange custom of offering gold and silver paper: 'Falsch ist es, dass diese Sitte an die Stelle früherer Menschenopfer

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father and mother were revered by all the members of their family, who saw in them an image of the two divine Principles in nature; and similarly on their removal hence they were regarded as the chosen deputies and ministers of Heaven, as watching with affectionate interest all the varied fortunes of their progeny, and urging them along the beaten road of duty to a higher and a happier stage of being. These relations with the world invisible were not unnaturally held to be most real in the case of the emperor himself, who as the Son of Heaven and father of his people had become an object of especial favour and solicitude to all his royal predecessors; yet the humblest China-man believes, and has believed from ages out of memory, that his welfare both in this world and the next is made to hinge almost entirely on the due discharge of filial obligations, and the offering up of periodic sacrifices to the manes of his ancestors.

Confucian idea of God.

From this account of the external aspects of Confucianism as a religious system, I pass forward to a more minute investigation of the primary article of faith and of ideas which had been silently moulding the established forms of worship. Ever since the western missionaries came in contact with the literati of the Middle Kingdom, two impor-

getreten wäre, oder dass man den Seelen der Gestorbenen durch das Verbrennen die auf dem Papier gezeichneten Dinge zum Gebrauch im Jenseits verschaffen wolle, wenn auch zur Zeit der Mongolen, welche den Todten Menschen und Thiere nachsandten, solche für das chinesische Bewusstsein ungereimte Dinge vorgekommen sein mögen.....Das Gold- und Silber-papier mit seinen Bildern bedeutet dann den Reichthum, und das Verbrennen des Papiers ist dann freilich *die verdünnteste und abgeflachteste Weise des Opfers*, welche ein prosaisches, den Besitz leidenschaftlich liebendes Volk ersinnen kann.'

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Difficulties of the question.

tant questions have been agitated in reference to these subjects. It was asked, in the first place, Do Confucianists believe in the existence of a Supreme Being? and, secondly, What words or phrases in the Chinese language form an adequate rendering of the 'God' of Christianity? Upon the latter question[1], though hardly separable from the first, I shall decline to enter; feeling that the only persons who can claim to speak about it with any semblance of authority are those who have acquired a competent knowledge of Chinese. It is somewhat different with regard to the more general subject of inquiry, 'Are the governing class of China atheistic?' for the right solution of that problem is derivable not so much from the discus-

[1] The principal word selected by the early Roman-catholic missionaries as equivalent to אֱלֹהִים and Θεὸς, was the Chinese *Teen*, which means, however, nothing more than 'Heaven,' the visible and invisible 'Heaven,' as construed in its broad indefinite sense. To give a greater personality to the idea intended by it, the word *Choo* (= 'Lord') was subsequently added by authority of the Inquisition; and the phrase 'Teen-Choo,' 'Heavenly Lord,' or 'Lord of Heaven,' became the recognised appellative of God for all Romish converts in the empire. Among the Chinese missionaries of other communions who rejected *Teen*, the general practice was to render the biblical name of God either (1) by *Shin*, or (2) by *Shang-te*, both of which have found a number of determined advocates, especially since the missionary conference held at Shanghae, in 1847. It is contended on the one side that *Shin* is not a faithful rendering of Θεὸς, because it is really a collective noun, is never used with a numerical affix, and therefore cannot possibly mean *one* Shin. (See Mr S. C. Malan's recent volume, entitled *Who is God in China?* He pleads earnestly and learnedly in favour of the phrase *Shang-te*.) On the other hand it is maintained with equal earnestness that *Shang-te* is an ethereal ψυχὴ κόσμου, 'not a personal Being distinct from matter;' and warnings are accordingly held out to the effect that by sanctioning the worship of *Shang-te*, we should be virtually dethroning the Great Self-existent Spirit, whom the Hebrew and Christian have equally worshipped under the adorable name Jehovah. (See, for instance, Mr M'Clatchie's paper on *Chinese Theology*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XVI. 427 sq.) As far as I can judge, the verbal controversy is at last resolvable into a question of metaphysics, 'Have the Chinese any conception of a pure spirit, or of incorporeality in the Christian sense?'

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sion of particular terms, as from the main complexion of her history and sacred literature. Yet rich as the materials are for such investigation, and accessible as they have now become to ordinary scholars, the difficulties experienced in turning them to good account are of no common magnitude. The ardour of the Christian missionary, who in this case as in others proved himself the pioneer of art and science and philosophy as well as of the Gospel, not unfrequently propelled him into serious errors and exaggerations; and owing to the way in which he has misread the monuments of eastern paganism and overcoloured both its truths and untruths, the first duty of dispassionate students is to subject his reports to close and rigorous criticism by going back, wherever it is possible, to the original authorities.

Reports of Jesuit missionaries;

When Ricci headed the first regular mission of the Jesuits in China, opening his great campaign at Nanking in 1590, it became a leading feature of his project to disarm the opposition of the governing class[1] by making common cause with them against the popular forms of misbelief. To justify this questionable measure, and so facilitate the arduous work of the evangelist, he uniformly pleaded that Confucius was the brightest luminary

[1] 'Il était en quelque sorte de mode d'être son partisan et son apologiste. Les lettrés en particulier n'hésitèrent pas à se déclarer pour lui, parce que, dans ses discours, il attaquait avec un succès complet les doctrines des bonzes [*i. e.* of the Buddhist monks] et des docteurs de la Raison (Tao-Sse), et que, d'autre part, il professait toujours un profond respect et une grande admiration pour les enseignements de Confucius. Le docteur européen était à leurs yeux un vrai membre de la corporation des lettrés, un Confucéen, un partisan de leur doctrine, un ennemi des superstitions des bouddhistes et des revêries des sectateurs de Lao-Tze:' Huc, *Le Christianisme en Chine*, &c. II. 154, 155.

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of the ancient world,—a genuine philosopher, whose tenets harmonised in almost every point with those transmitted in the sacred family from antediluvian times, and consequently that the Gospel, so far from advocating any kind of novelty, was in substance a revival of the primitive faith of China. The missionary at the same time ventured to take part in sacrifices offered to Confucius, on the ground that honours thus awarded to the great philosopher of China were all purely civil[1]. It was felt indeed by Ricci, as by many of his coadjutors, that a meeting-place might be established between the Gospel and the authorised religion of the Middle Kingdom by laying stress upon the doctrine of one infinite, all-embracing Spirit[2], whom the China-man appeared to worship as *Teen*, or *Shang-te*. The two great temples at Peking, in which, as we have noticed, the emperor himself was in the habit of sacrificing to Heaven and Earth respectively, were held to be alike the sanctuaries of this one eternal Spirit: the Creator and Conservator of the universe was merely worshipped under different titles[3]. On the contrary it was alleged with equal firmness by a learned member[4]

some ascribing theistic principles,

others atheistic principles to the Chinese.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 155. Other missionaries of a kindred spirit, and professing the same admiration for Confucius, travelled about the country in the disguise of watchmakers, astronomers, artists, and engineers.

[2] We are told of Ricci in particular: 'Negabat religionem, quæ unum sine consorte Deum doceret, peregrinam esse. Hanc probabat fuisse a Sinensibus philosophis et eorum principe Confucio traditam, sed obliteratam paulatim temporum vitio.' Hardwick's *History of the Reformation*, p. 443, n. 6. It was even pretended in some quarters that the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity had been anticipated by three horizontal lines, made use of in the *kwa* of Fuh-he (above, p. 16), to represent Heaven; or else by the triplication of *Shang-te* into Heaven, Earth, and man.

[3] See *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* (1854), tome IV. p. 300.

[4] His essay, first printed at Madrid in 1676, was translated into French, in 1701, with the title *Traité*

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Verdict of modern sinologues.

of the same fraternity (the Jesuit Longobardi), that many statements of his predecessors on this subject were devoid of all foundation. According to his view the Chinese literati had never during the historic period worshipped one supreme and spiritual Intelligence,—a God whose being is entirely independent of the visible and sensible universe: and notwithstanding all the fervid eulogies which, half in ignorance and half in malice, have attempted to exalt the 'wisdom' of the Middle Kingdom to equality with that of Palestine, the verdict of Longobardi is continually corroborated by the disquisitions of our modern sinologues. They hold that, theoretically at least, the followers of the Chinese state-religion are all atheists to a man[1]. However much the instincts of their moral nature must rebel against this blank and desolating creed;

sur quelques points de la religion des Chinois, par le R. Père Longobardi.

[1] See, for instance, Meadows, p. 361. Prof. Neumann, whose opinion as a very accomplished Chinese scholar is peculiarly valuable, had already expressed himself with even greater emphasis: 'Nie und nimmermehr ist dem Chinesischen Volke ein Gott erschienen; von einer Offenbarung ist keine Spur bei dieser prosaischen Nation. Die Wörter *Gott, Seele, Geist*, als etwas von der Materie ganz Unabhängiges und sie willkürlich Beherrschendes, *kennt die Chinesische Sprache gar nicht.* Ein einziges Band umschlingt, nach den Ansichten der Weisen dieses Landes, alles Seyende, das Reich der Natur und das Reich des Geistes; der Bruch, die Störung der angemessenen Thätigkeit eines Gliedes bringt Unordnung in die ganze Kette des Seyenden. Die geistigen und moralischen Kräfte gebieten aber den physischen; wer Tugend und Sitte beleidigt, stört die glückliche Ordnung der Elemente, er bringt Unheil über die Gesellschaft und ist ihr deshalb verantwortlich. *So innig ist dieser Ideengang mit der Sprache selbst verwachsen, dass es unmöglich ist, den ersten Vers der Genesis ohne weitläuftige Umschreibung ins Chinesische so zu übersetzen, dass er wirklich Chinesisch ist.* Denn *hoa*, das Wort für *schaffen*, bedeutet eigentlich auf eine spontane, unbewusste Weise vom Nichtseyn zum Seyn übergehen; und *tsáo*, welches in der Bibelübersetzung von D. Morrison vorkommt, wird von den Chinesen bloss in der Bedeutung von anders machen aus einem Etwas, nie aber in dem Sinne von *schaffen, dem Machen aus einem Nichts*, gebraucht:' *Naturphilosophie der Chinesen*, as before, pp. 11, 12.

however much they are impelled when bending under some disastrous visitation to take refuge in the thought of a superior *Teen,* or 'Heaven,' and recognise in him the attributes of justice and of mercy, of fatherhood and special providence, the highest efforts of their reasoning faculties all stop at the conception of an 'unintelligent and will-less principle,' from which the universe, its laws and its inhabitants have been eternally projected or evolved.

Was the oldest creed of China theistic?

How long these modes of thought and feeling have been prevalent in China; whether as one class of writers are disposed to argue they may be regarded as the earliest product of a national mind absorbed entirely in the love of pelf, or whether they resulted gradually from the adoption by the learned orders of a system of philosophy akin to that which we entitle 'naturalism,' it is not easy to determine. In the *Shoo-king,* which Confucius (we have seen) remodelled out of older documents, allusion is made as many as eight and thirty times[1] to some great Power or Being, called *Shang-te.* The name itself imports 'august' or 'sovereign Ruler.' As there depicted he possesses a high measure of intelligence, and exercises some degree of moral government: he punishes the evil, he rewards the good. To him especially is offered the sacrifice *Loŏe;* while other ceremonies are performed in honour of 'the six Tsong, the mountains, the rivers, and the spirits generally[2].' These beings of inferior rank appear to constitute the court, or

[1] Malan, *Who is God in China?* p. 167.

[2] *Le Chou-king,* ed. De Guignes, pp. 13, 14. The editor is unable to determine accurately what is meant by the six *Tsong* (= 'worthy of respect'). They seem to be different kinds of spirits. As for the sacrifice *Loŏe,* it is explained by Choo-he (in Neumann, as above, p. 64) to mean

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retinue, of the celestial Ruler; and elsewhere he is attended by 'five heavenly chiefs, members also of his council, who are set over the presidents of heaven, of the earth, and of the sea. These, in turn, range in the world of *shin* (or spirits of the air), of *kwei* (souls of the deceased), and *ke* (spirits of, or from below, the earth[1]).' It is again expressly stated in the *Shoo-king* and perhaps with reference also to the nature of *Shang-te:* 'Heaven is supremely intelligent: the perfect man imitates him (or it): the ministers obey him (or it) with respect: the people follow the orders of the government[2].' And, finally, it is enjoined[3] by fresh authorities that, on these sacred grounds, the 'people shall not hesitate to contribute with all their power to the worship of the sovereign Lord of Heaven, *Shang-te,* to that of celebrated mountains, great rivers, and of the *shin* of the four quarters.'

Or were the oldest Chinese worshippers of Nature?

On the other hand, a second class of writers have contended, that in the very oldest products of the Chinese mind no proper personality has ever been ascribed to this supreme and all-embracing Power. Heaven is *called* the Father of the Uni-

the sacrifice of the inexorable death, 'because Heaven and Earth feel no pity.'

[1] Malan, as before, p. 166. On the *five* chiefs here alluded to, as relieving *Shang-te* in his administration of the world, see the *Notice de L'y king,* appended to the *Chou-king,* as before, p. 432. May they not correspond to the *five* planets of ancient China? See above, p. 11, n. 1.

[2] *Le Chou-king,* pp. 124, 125. One of the native commentators there cited (n. 3) says that 'Heaven is simple, intelligent, just, spiritual, and all-seeing.' And another adds: "To be able to chastise the bad, to recompense the good, to be truth itself, to be a spirit incomprehensible, immutable, permanent, just, devoid of passion,—all this is contained in the two Chinese characters (*Tsong-ming*), which in this passage signify 'supremely intelligent.'"

[3] *Le-ke,* ch. vi. (quoted by Mr Malan, p. 185.) Mention is also made of sacrifices to ancestors and to the tutelary gods of the empire (p. 28, ed. Callery).

verse, but only in the same way as Earth is called the Mother[1]. Both of them are said to live, to generate, to quicken: yet neither to have life inherent in itself. They both are made the objects of solemn prayers and sacrifices. Both may also be described as 'spiritual;' yet only in so far as spirits[2] of which they are in some sort the aggregate expression are diffused in every form of animated nature. 'Heaven' is in particular (these writers argue) a personification of the ever-present Law, and Order and Intelligence, which seem to breathe amid the wonderful activities of physical creation, in the measured circuit of the seasons, in the alternation of light and darkness, in the ebb and flow of tides, in the harmonious and majestic revolutions of the planetary bodies. 'Heaven,' in other words, so far from being personal, or spiritual, or self-conscious, is a blind necessity inherent in all forms of life, a Law and not a Legislator, a Power without volition, and a Guide without intelligence[3]. Nay, many of these writers have gone so far as to contend that *Shang-te* himself, of whom the highest and most god-like qualities are predicable, is really no more than a great 'Anima mundi[4],' energising everywhere in all the processes of nature,

[1] *Le Chou-king*, p. 151.

[2] 'Wenn man sagt: Himmel und Erde haben keinen Geist, so heisst diess so viel: Himmel und Erde *haben nur in so weit* Geist, als daraus die vier Jahreszeiten und alle Dinge hervorgehen.' Tschu-hi (Choohe), translated by Neumann, as before, p. 61. The whole of the dialogue on 'Heaven and Earth' is well worth perusal.

[3] Thus in the *Hi-tse* ascribed to Confucius (IV. 4, appended to *Yih-king*, ed. Mohl) the author avows that while the sages act freely, it is different with the primary elements of the universe, the male and female principles in nature, or, in other words, the Godhead of ancient China. The action of these results from forces inherent in their very being.

[4] See the passages collected by Mr M'Clatchie, as before, pp. 390 sq.

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and binding all the parts together in one mighty organism, exactly as the soul of man pervades and animates the body: and in accordance with this notion they remind us how the *Le-ke*[1] had decided, that 'if we speak of all the *shin* (or spirits) collectively, we call them *Shang-te*.'

Most probable solution.

After threading my way as far as possible among this tangled, and in many points conflicting, evidence, I am led to the conclusion that in China as elsewhere had lingered from primeval ages the conception of one living, bounteous, and paternal providence, whose earthly shadow[2] was believed to sit exalted far above his fellows on the throne of the Middle Kingdom; but that ultimately this conception was broken and obscured, until the unity of God no longer formed the basis of the Chinese creed. Philosophy then came forward as in other countries, and attempted to recover the idea of unity. 'Heaven' was made by the more thoughtful of philosophers a verbal representative of all the energies in nature: all were *said* to flow originally from it, as from the common source of life, and common principle of order: all were *said* to have been recapitulated and embraced in it as in the animating soul and ruling spirit of the universe: while, in the worship of the many, 'Heaven' was ordinarily confounded with the firmament itself, the blue ethereal canopy above our heads, the shining and the burning heavens[3].

[1] *Ibid.* p. 401.

[2] *Le Chou-king*, p. 151: 'Le Ciel a établi un Roi pour conserver les peuples et pour les instruire. Ce Roi est le Ministre du Souverain Seigneur (Chang-ti), pour gouverner paisiblement et avec douceur l'Empire.'

[3] '"Whom do you worship?" I asked. "I worship Heaven just as you foreigners do," he replied. "Who is the Heaven you worship?" "Why,

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General scope of Confucian ethics and politics.

But whatever may be thought of the preceding summary, no one will deny that the absence of distinct allusion in the writings of Confucius to a God at all resembling the God of Christianity is very strange and startling. The few scanty notices which they afford are barely recognitions of some powerful and indefinite Heaven (*Teen*),—a cold abstraction of the logical faculty, whom the philosopher does not dream of clothing with moral and spiritual attributes, or of propounding as an object of man's love and adoration. He seems, in fact, to have been wavering more than once respecting the existence of this great abstraction; for when questioned on the subject by his followers, he either evaded the inquiry or else reprimanded them for prying into matters unconnected with their duties to society and lying far beyond their depth[1]. To him a personal Deity, the Maker, the Redeemer and the Sanctifier, was theoretically superfluous. "You find yourself," he argued, "in the midst of a stupendous, yet most orderly piece of mechanism. That mechanism, so far as we can tell, is self-originating, self-sustaining. Change there is, but no creation: all things from eternity existed and were subject to a flux and reflux, in obedience to initial laws impressed upon them, how and why we know not, by some stern

Shang-te, of course," said he. "Can you *see* Shang-te or not?" I inquired. "Why," replied he, looking at me with surprise at my ignorance, and leading me to the door while he pointed up to the sky, "there he is!" "What!" said I, "Do you mean that *blue sky* up there?" "Of course," said he, "That is Shang-te, *the same as your Jesus!*" I have never yet asked the above questions without receiving *precisely the same answers;* for *all* classes of Confucianists in China consider Shang-te to be the animated material Heaven.' McClatchie, as before, p. 397.

[1] Cf. *Journal Asiatique* (1834), XIV. 57.

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necessity. Be warned and guided by this principle: devote yourself no longer to the fruitless study of theology: it brings, and can bring, with it no practical advantage. Seek not to explore the doctrine of final causes: rather, if you speculate at all, confine your thoughts to the discussion of phenomena and the laws of phenomena. Such alone are useful and legitimate subjects of inquiry. It is possible indeed that laws may be connected somehow with the demons of the air, or else with other forms of spiritual agency: we cannot absolutely say that they are not. You may continue, therefore, on this ground, to follow the established ritual of your ancestors. 'Sacrifice *as if* your sacrifice were a reality: worship *Shin* as if *Shin* were really present[1].' But meanwhile your chief concern is with the visible and palpable universe, and with the homely tasks of life. You constitute one little member in some mighty organism; you stand as part of some great moral order: strive to act on all occasions as such a being should act. Far from pausing to bemoan your weakness or unworthiness, remember that 'he who offends against Heaven has no one to whom he can pray[2].' The past is gone and is irrevocable. Be more vigilant in time to come. Endeavour so to rule yourself, according to the sacred maxims, that you may be fitted first to rule a family, and lastly may attain the highest point of your ambition,—an office under govern-

[1] See above, p. 35, n. 1; and Malan, *Who is God in China?* p. 14. Abel-Rémusat, *Chung-Yung*, c. XVI. § 3, compares the language of Confucius on these subjects with the corresponding language of Spinoza, of whom he thinks the Chinese worthy a precursor.

[2] Medhurst, p. 186. In another passage, there cited, Confucius declares: 'Imperial Heaven has no kindred to serve, and will only assist virtue.'

ment. To practical men the theatre of this present life gives ample scope for enterprise: it teems with stern realities and all-engrossing cares: perhaps[1], too, it may prove your last, your sole possession. Be thoughtful, therefore, be industrious: make the most of what you have: be modest, sober, grave, decorous; cultivate the qualities which mark the men of 'the due medium[2];' more particularly aim at that which forms the crowning excellence of all, be scrupulous in your devotion to the emperor, the Son and representative of Heaven. For is not he in very truth the father of his people? and as filial piety has ever been the source of joy and blessing to the single household, and as reverence for the memory of departed kinsmen is the glory, hope and safeguard of survivors, so to venerate the emperor of the Middle Kingdom is to aid in regulating the whole course of nature; every comfort which you prize or long for is involved in it,—domestic peace and social order and the safety of the commonwealth. And if," Confucius seems to have concluded, "if you wish to place your institutions on the very surest basis, educate the young, diffuse intelligence in every quarter; most of all insist upon the study of that science which surpasses every other, as enabling you to turn all other kinds of knowledge to a practical account, —I mean, the science of political economy[3]."

[1] See Wuttke's investigation of this article in the Confucian creed, II. 40 sq.

[2] This is the meaning of *Chung-Yung*, the title of the Confucian treatise on the duties, and transcendant dignity of the 'holy man,' who identifies himself completely with the fixed order of Heaven.

[3] 'It is rather extraordinary that political economy constitutes the first science which all Chinese boys are taught.' Gutzlaff, I. 198. It was the wish of Confucius him-

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Chinese philosophy of the Absolute.

Vast, however, as the influence of Confucius was in moulding the institutions of his country and imparting that distinctive air of regular animation which pervades the social life of China at the present day, he could not draw men off entirely from the deeper questions touching their connexion with supernatural powers and their relation to the world invisible. The human heart *must* muse and speculate on these momentous questions; for the plodding and prosaic China-man himself was not entirely dead to their importance. What then was the drift of 'orthodox' philosophy in reference to the subjects which Confucius had comparatively disregarded? The answer is furnished in the numerous works of Choo-he[1], whom we saw abundant reason for esteeming the approved expositor of Chinese metaphysics and theology. According to the views propounded by him and in part at least transmitted from preceding ages there is underlying all phenomena, however mixed and manifold they seem, a fundamental unity, of which the common name is *Tae-keih*, the Absolute, or literally the 'Great Extreme.' Beyond it as the highest 'pinnacle of heaven,' the one ultimate power, the entity without an opposite, no human thought whatever is capable of soaring. Itself incomprehensible, it 'girdles' the whole frame of nature,

self that his disciples should all become state officials, and therefore, as in the *Lun-Yu*, 'he confined his instructions to political economy, to which he reduces all the duties of life.' *Ibid.* p. 196.

[1] My knowledge of his writings is derived chiefly from Prof. Neumann's translations, above cited. I have also profited by the recent work of Mr. T. T. Meadows, who devotes a chapter (ch. XVIII.) to the subject of Chinese philosophy; and also by the paper of Mr M'Clatchie, as before cited, on 'Chinese Theology.'

animate and inanimate. From it alone as from the fountain-head of being issued every thing that is[1]. 'Creation' is the periodic flowing forth of it. 'The Absolute is like a stem shooting upwards: it is parted into twigs, it puts out leaves and blossoms: forth it springs incessantly, until its fruit is fully ripe: yet even then the power of reproduction never ceases to be latent in it. The vital juice is there; and so the Absolute still works and works indefinitely. Nothing hinders or can hinder its activity, until the fruits have all been duly ripened, and activity gives place to rest[2].'

Obscuration of the thought of unity.

It is, meanwhile, acknowledged by the great philosophers of China that this thought of one efficient Cause, or rather of one causative power and principle, was quite unable to retain its true ascendancy in opposition to the seeming contradictions of the outer and the inner world. The vision of the soul, the eye of faith, was gradually bedimmed, and hence those higher intuitions which had prompted Hebrew patriarchs to hold communion with the Self-existent, who converts all agencies

[1] Tschu-hi (Choo-he), as above, pp. 46, 47. In reply to the question 'What is the Absolute?' it is there answered, (p. 46): 'Das Absolute ist die höchste, erhabenste, äusserste, grösste Fundamental-Normalurkraft; alle Menschen sind durch das Absolute und alle Dinge sind durch das Absolute.' In another passage (p. 72) it is said that *Tae-keih* itself springs out of something higher, out of *Wu-keih* 'the Illimitable.'

[2] *Ibid.* p. 50. The following passage (also quoted from Choo-he, by Mr M'Clatchie, p. 381) forms a good illustration of the Chinese theory respecting a succession of similar worlds: "Being asked, 'From the opening and spreading out (of the world from chaos) to the present time, is not 10,000 years; how was it *before* that time?' He (the philosopher) replied, 'Before that there was another (world) similar to the present one.' Being asked, whether Heaven and Earth are capable of being annihilated, he replied 'No, but it is my opinion that *when men completely depart from correct principles*, then the whole will become chaos, and men and things will cease to exist, and then there will be *a new commencement*.'"

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whatever into means for carrying on His moral government, were lacking in the ordinary Chinaman. The God whom he adored was rather an ideal being than the living God of nature. 'All things in the world,' says Choo-he[1], 'seem as to their primary tendencies to issue from the One: the One, however, is not really in a condition to bring them forth;' the meaning of which is probably that while our reason points us back to the hypothesis of unity, our senses are too apt to lead us in a different direction: multiplicity is everywhere apparent and so constitutes for us the law of the phenomenal universe. In other words, the Chinese speculator found himself impelled to the conclusion that although the proper basis of all life is one, and though such unity may still by some mysterious process form the ultimate principle of rest and motion, yet duality is the active visible cause of all advancement, the foundation of the present order of the world[2]. It thus resulted that in spite of the idea of abstract unity which lingered as an echo of some old tradition in the background of their metaphysical system, the Chinese philosophers were all addicted to the theory of two principles. Their ordinary speech was *dualistic*. They

Chinese dualism.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 71. The question had been asked 'Ist die Einheit Grund (*causa efficiens*) des Lebens?' To which it was replied, quoting Hong-Khiu: 'Das Eins bleibt...immerdar das Fundament, auf dieselbe Weise, wie der Zehner in 100, 1000 und 10,000; das Zwei kann durchaus nicht als dasjenige betrachtet werden, wodurch ein Ding wird; es ist bloss der Grund des Hervortretens.' Choo-he then adds further explanations of his own.

[2] 'Tschi-hiang sagt: Das Eins ist der Lebensgrund, so wie es die Ursache ist der Bewegung und der Ruhe; seine Grenze ist deren Grenze; das Zwei ist *die Ursache des Werdens*, so wie der vollendeten Bewegung und der darauf folgenden Ruhe, eben so der vollendeten Ruhe und der darauf folgenden Bewegung.' *Ib.* p. 72.

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Le and Ke.

rested on two entities or essences, the one a power or cause, the other a more passive something where that power or cause could operate[1]. The former may be styled the ultimate *immaterial* element of the universe (*Le*); the second (*Ke*), consisting as it does of matter most ethereal in its texture, may be styled the ultimate *material* element of the universe. *Le* is, therefore, only another name for *Tae-keih;* it is the Absolute regarded in association with material essences, and manifesting itself in virtue of such association as the cause of organisation and of order. Both these elements as to their essence are held to be eternal; and so inseparably united that one is necessary to the true subsistence of the other. 'If there were no *Ke*, then *Le* would not have any thing to rest upon[2].' The predicates of *first* and *second* are inapplicable to all such cases: but if we must speak of order and priority, the immaterial element is worthy of the foremost place[3]: particularly since this element is the basis of all things viewed abstractedly, as destitute of form and figure; while *Ke*, the primary matter, acts as the substratum on which things endued with form and other qualities all take their stand, or out of which they have been gradually evolved.

Yang and Yin.

But *Ke*, again, if duly analysed, is found to be not singular but dual, not simple but compounded. The resolution of this primary matter into its constituent elements[4] gives birth to two opposite

[1] Meadows, p. 68.

[2] See this and other extracts in M'Clatchie, p. 384. The thought of necessary interdependence between *Le* and *Ke* had sometimes led men to speak of the primary matter as identical with the Absolute: *Ibid.* p. 383.

[3] Choo-he, as before, pp. 32, 33.

[4] '*In* und *Yâng* gehen aus der Urmaterie hervor; sie sind beständig

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essences,—to *Yang* and *Yin*, which therefore may be treated as the phases under which the Ultimate Principle[1] of the universe displays itself in the phenomenal world. As early as the *kwa*, or diagrams of Fuh-he, the symbolic mode of representing them was a broken and black line for *Yin*, a white and continuous line for *Yang*. The popular account of this duality, in which it was intended to express the parting asunder of the one chaotic *Ke* and the production of Heaven and Earth, is all the more remarkable, because it reappears not only in the story-books of other Chinese sects[2], but also, we shall see hereafter, in the ancient mythus of New Zealand. *Yang* and *Yin*, thus generated by the 'Great Extreme' of the Chinese theology when separating himself from unformed matter, are called the two *Ke*, and may be represented either by the names of positive and negative essences, or else in a more concrete form, as the paternal and maternal principles of nature. From the constant evolution and interaction of these opposite essences[3] resulted every species of formal matter and the mixed phenomena of the world. According to the different proportions in which *Yang* and *Yin* are blended is the character of every grade of creaturely exist-

in gegenseitigem Kampfe, und sie müssen immer im Kampfe seyn; daraus entsteht das Gute und das Böse, daraus der Ursprung des Verschiedenen:' *Ibid.* p. 78.

[1] 'Der Ausdruck: das *Absolute* (Tai-Ky), ist gleichbedeutend mit dem Worte *Urkraft* (Ly):' *Ibid.* p. 42.

[2] *E. g.* of the followers of Tao-ism, who say that 'after chaos was settled, heaven and earth divided, and human beings were born:' in Medhurst, p. 198. Mr M'Clatchie also notices (*Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 386) the affinity between this representation and that of the Chaldean Bel, who was said to form light and darkness, &c. by *cutting himself in two*.

[3] 'It is here,' as Mr Meadows well remarks, 'that Chinese philosophy slips over the much discussed, hitherto unsolved, and apparently unsolvable question of the existence of matter:' p. 344.

ence. Every thing is *Yang* and *Yin* together. For the highest actual manifestation in which *Yang* preponderates we look to Heaven itself, which is accordingly to be esteemed the aptest image cognisable by the senses of the ultimate and all-embracing Principle. Earth is, on the contrary, the highest form of *Yin*. The same duality where one or other of the factors operated, either for the purpose of transforming or uniting, issued in the first production of the innate essences, which constitute the Five Elements of water, fire, wood, metal and earth[1]. 'A transcendental union and coagulation now takes place of the Ultimate Principle, the Two Essences and the Five Elements. The Positive Essence becomes the masculine power, the Negative Essence the feminine power—conceived in which character the former constitutes the Heavenly Mode or Principle, the latter the Earthly Mode or Principle: by a mutual influencing, the two produce all things in the visible, palpable world; and the double work of evolution and dissolution goes on without end[2]:'—*Yang* evincing its peculiar force in every kind of progress, *Yin* in every kind of retrogression: *Yang* determining commencement, *Yin* completion: *Yang* predominant in spring and summer, and the author of all movement and activity, *Yin* more visible in the autumn and the winter, passive, drooping and inert.

Confucian theory of man.

These dualistic speculations on the constitution of the universe in general are consistently adopted in the framing of the Chinese theory of man. In popular phrase it was the marriage of Heaven and Earth, the male and female principles in nature,

[1] Choo-he, as before, p. 43, pp. 82 sq. [2] Meadows, p. 345.

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that gave rise to the production of the human species: or in other words, since *Yang* and *Yin* must always coexist as the material ground on which the Ultimate Principle takes effect, they enter into the composition of rational as well as of irrational beings. Man, however, in addition to his physical framework, is endowed with Five qualities or Virtues, corresponding to the Five Elements of the Chinese cosmogony. These constitute his mental and moral nature[1]. They unite him to the Absolute, the *Le*, from which proceeded all ingredients both of rationality and order, and with which the spirit of man is strictly one and consubstantial. As the Chinese speculator had evaded the great problem touching the origin of primary matter, so he offers no intelligible explanation of the rise and growth of evil. He affirms indeed that every man is at his birth in the possession of a nature radically good. Itself an efflux from the source of Order, it gives proof of this celestial origin by moving in obedience to the general laws on which all other things are founded. 'Human

Denial of Original Sin.

[1] They are '*Jin*, *E*, *Le*, *Che* and *Sin*, which are called the Five *Tih*, or Five Virtues: *tih* being a word that like our English *virtue*, signifies first, qualities or characteristics generally, whether of man or of things; and then, collectively, the best qualities of man, or Virtue as opposed to Vice. In accordance with the dictionaries, *Jin* is usually rendered by *Benevolence* (or Charity in its widest sense); *E*, by Righteousness [Uprightness]; *Le*, by Propriety; *Che*, by Wisdom; and *Sin*, by Sincerity. But sinologues will perceive that as the Five *Tih* embrace the *whole* of what we consider the better side of man's nature, it is not certain that these five English words are exhaustive.' *Ibid.* p. 346.

In the *Li-ki*, ed. Callery, p. 45, the question is stated differently: 'L'homme émane (pour le moral) de la vertu du Ciel et de la Terre; (pour le physique, il émane) de la combinaison des (deux principes) *In* et *Jañ*; (pour la partie spirituelle, il émane) de la réunion des esprits et des dieux; et (pour la forme qui lui est propre, il émane) de l'essence la plus subtile des cinq élémens.'

nature,' says a great Confucian authority[1], 'is good, just as water has a tendency to flow downwards; men are universally inclined to virtue, just as water invariably flows downwards.' And the only qualification which the author offered of this startling language is appended in the following extract: 'Water, by beating, may be made to splash over your head, and by forcing may be made to pass over a mountain; but who would ever say that this is the natural tendency of water? It is because violence is applied to it. Thus men can be made vicious: but it is by no means their nature.' Vice, in other words, is in the system of the Chinaman a rare and casual deviation from the path of rectitude, produced by strong solicitations of the outer sensible world, to which the culprit, for some cause or other, finds himself attracted. And in manifest accordance with this pantheistic principle, evil is there said to punish itself, or rather it is punished by the necessary operation of the order which it dares to violate. With sin, as it involves a painful consciousness of guilt, or evil in the biblical sense of the expression, we very seldom meet; for in the Chinese system, evil-workers are not viewed as persons gifted with moral freedom, and sin is never represented as ingratitude, or even as rebellion against a personal and holy God. We cannot say of evil that it ought not to be; it is a something that must be. It enters, and must enter, into a concatenation of causes and effects originating from eternity: it is the shadow which gives harmony and contrast to the picture of the universe: it is the *Yin* of the moral world, as good

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Meaning of vice.

[1] Mencius, quoted in Medhurst, p. 196.

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is the *Yang*[1]. The root of both is in the primary material essence. They are both the necessary modes in which the Absolute comes forward into being, and conducts his operations in the region of phenomena. And as moral guilt is thus unknown to the Confucianist, so neither does he manifest a wish or craving after spiritual regeneration. He has no 'word of prophecy that shineth in a dark place until the day break and the day-star arise in the heart.' He offers up no sacrifice for sin, in order to restore relations between man and God, which are subverted by iniquity. He lives exclusively within the sphere of nature: his home is there, and he is wholly satisfied with his condition and his prospect. He believes in no futurity, excepting; it may be, some reproduction of the present forms of life and matter. What he worships are the tutelary gods of China, or creation contemplated in its twofold character of Earth and Heaven, or else, succumbing more completely under the dominion of the seen and tangible, his worship is degraded into hero-worship; he deifies humanity itself[2].

No idea of regeneration.

[1] Choo-he says expressly, as before, p. 76: 'Das bewegende Princip [*Yang*] est das Gute und das ruhende Princip [*Yin*] est das Böse, wie diess oft genug die Vollkommenen und Weisen gesagt haben; denn aus der aufrecht stehenden absoluten Urkraft erfolgen die zwei Entgegengesetzten, gegenseitig in nothwendiger Beziehung Stehenden, und daraus erfolgt nun Jegliches, das einem Jeden Eigenthümliche.' And again (p. 78): *In* [*Yin*] und *Yang* gehen aus der Urmaterie hervor; sie sind beständig in gegenseitigem Kampfe, und sie müssen immer im Kampfe seyn; daraus entsteht das Gute und das Böse, daraus der Ursprung des Verschiedenen.'

[2] It is not unworthy of notice that M. Comte, of whom we are continually reminded in our study of Confucianism, has recently announced a new scheme of man-worship, which he ventures to predict will supersede Christianity, and form a kind of bridge to persons who are passing across the gulf between Theism and Atheism. The title of the tract is *Culte Systématique de l'Humanité,*

How many are the points in which Confucian tenets are opposed to Christianity it were superfluous to enumerate. The opposition in respect of doctrines is entire and fundamental. It is the opposition of nature and of grace, of unregenerate and regenerate principles, of sight and faith, of earthy and of heavenly. And how vast will therefore be the revolution in the moral nature of the China-man if he shall ever learn to practise the unworldly lessons of the Gospel, or to echo those heroic sentiments which more than once have been propounded in his hearing by the ardent and devoted missionary! 'I have had no home,' exclaimed Capillas to implacable mandarins, when they consigned him to the executioner in 1647, 'I have had no home but the world, no bed but the ground, no food but what Providence has sent me day by day, and no other object but to do and suffer for the glory of Jesus Christ, and for the eternal happiness of those who believe in His Name[1].'

Antagonism to Christianity.

§ 2. *Tao-ism, or School of the Fixed Way.*

Although the tenets of the governing class appear to have accorded with the calculating and materialistic genius of the Chinese nation, individuals were never wanting in whose spirit the religious sentiment was ineradicably fixed. If the adherents of the state-religion frequently remind us of the sceptical and self-complacent Sadducee, we find existing side by side with them another

Contrast between Confucius and Lao-tse.

Paris, 1850. All the benefactors of mankind are to be the objects of this cultus: Moses, Solomon, St John, St Paul, Buddha, Confucius, Mohammad; but, strange to say, the name of our blessed Lord does not appear in the catalogue!

[1] See the narrative in Mr Kesson's work entitled *The Cross and the Dragon*, p. 112.

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Chinese sect whose mystic creed and fervid temperament especially resemble those of the Essene. The Chinese spiritualists had learned to recognise a head and champion many years before the origin of the Confucian movement: for Lao-tse, the founder of Tao-ism, seems to have been born as early as 604 B.C., and therefore was already hastening to the close of his career when the reformer of the state-religion entered on his first appointment as inspector of the corn-marts of his native province. Confucius shewed himself at every turn a politician and a sociologist, proceeding, it is true, on strictly moral grounds, yet hoping to recover and cement the unity of China most of all by the assiduous cultivation of political economy and by proficiency in general state-craft. Lao-tse, however, manifested an entirely different bias. He had always been a scholar and recluse, alive to the reality of the world invisible and to the presence of superior powers; of ardent and imaginative temper, subtle, penetrating, spiritual, unambitious; the unwavering preacher of inaction and retirement[1], and as such exposed to the reproach of inculcating apathy and moroseness, and of cherishing among his followers a dislike of human kind, and

[1] The Chinese themselves were not slow in perceiving the real bent of his philosophy. Thus Choo-he, as before, p. 27, declares: 'Die Satzungen des *Lao-tse* zielen durchaus auf das Leere; auf die Ruhe und Unthätigkeit. Die Aufgabe des Lebens besteht (nach ihm) in einer tiefen Selbstbeschauung.' And in the 'Notice Historique' supplied by M. Stanislas Julien's edition of the *Tao-te-king*, p. xxi. we have the following native criticism: 'Ceux qui étudient la doctrine de *Lao-tseu* la mettent au-dessus de celle des lettrés; de leur côté, les lettrés préfèrent Confucius à *Lao-tseu*. Les principes des deux écoles étant différents, il est impossible qu'elles puissent s'accorder entre elles. Suivant *Lao-tseu*, si le roi pratique le *non-agir*, le peuple se convertit; s'il reste dans une quiétude absolue, le peuple se rectifie de lui-même.'

a contempt for the well-ordering of Chinese society. In other words, the genius of Confucianism was cold and worldly, that of the Tao-ists was more earnest, soaring and contemplative: the first inclined to scepticism, the second to superstition: in the judgment of the former, man is bound to make the most of the present life, while in the latter the chief aim was to subdue all earthly appetites, and deepen a desire for the unfading and immortal.

Supernatural attributes ascribed to Lao-tse.

As we saw already in the case of Śákya-muni, the oldest narratives[1] respecting Lao-tse agree in representing him as a man and a philosopher: exalted, it is true, but all the while a being subject to the ordinary conditions of humanity, and therefore such as men might hope to imitate. His ignorant disciples have, however, added large embellishments to the original story. Anxious to place their master high above the rank of mortals, and so gain themselves the power of competing with a host of foreign emissaries, who deified the founder of the Buddhist system, the Tao-ists had begun as early as the fourth century of the Christian era to assert for Lao-tse a supernatural origin. They celebrated the stupendous marvels of his birth[2]: they worshipped him as later Bráhmans

[1] This subject has, for the first time, been critically discussed by M. Julien, as above. Even the *Légende Fabuleuse de Lao-tseu* denies (p. xxv) that he was 'a divine and extraordinary being.' It adds, however: 'Dès le moment de sa naissance, il reçut une pénétration divine et fut doué d'une intuition profonde. La vie dont le ciel l'anima ne ressemblait point à celle des hommes ordinaires; il était destiné à devenir le maître et le propagateur du *Tao*: c'est pourquoi il put être protégé par les esprits du ciel et commander à la multitude des immortels' (p. xxvii.)

[2] 'Quelques auteurs disent que *Lao-tseu* est né avant le ciel et la terre; suivant d'autres, il possédait une âme pure émanée du ciel. Il appartient à la classe des esprits et des dieux. Certains écrivains racontent que sa mère ne le mit au monde qu'après l'avoir porté dans son sein

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worshipped the mysterious Krishṅa, on the ground that he was one of many *avatáras*, the 'exalted, precious and most venerable Prince,' identical with him, who under different aspects is the 'incomprehensible Non-being.' 'Lao-tse inhabited,' according to a popular legend, 'the abode of matchless purity; he was, in other words, the great progenitor of the subtle and primordial elements (of creation): he was the basis of the earth and of the shining heaven. Before the dawn of the great beginning, he had taken root in the bosom of supreme repose and in the deepest void. It was he, and he alone, who from the height of his imperial throne distributed the subtle elements of air and gave transparency to ether. He extended and transformed both heaven and earth, to bring about, in cycles of incalculable period, the production and the death of all created forms. His person was transfigured (by assuming a mortal body); he submitted to the various conditions of this soiled and dusty world; yet meanwhile bearing small resem-

pendant soixante et douze ans [others say, 81 years]. Il sortit par *le côté gauche de sa mère*. En naissant il avait la tête blanche (les cheveux blancs): c'est pourquoi on l'appela *Lao-tseu* (l'enfant-vieillard). Quelques autres disent que sa mère l'avait conçu sans le secours d'un époux.'... *Légende Fabuleuse*, as above, p. xxiii. This legend is extracted by M. Julien from a Chinese 'History of the gods and the immortals,' by Ko-hong, who wrote about A.D. 350. It is most remarkable that the same story is in substance told of Śákya-muni by his later followers. St Jerome, and after him Ratramnus, mention the story as current in their day, (cf. Lassen, *Ind. Altert.* III. 370) and as early as the *Lalita Vistara* (assigned by M. Foucaux and Prof. Wilson to about 150 B.C.), Śákya-muni is said to have been miraculously born *from the side* of his mother, Máyá, who died seven days after his birth; see *Journal of the As. Soc.* (1856), xvi. 243. The feeling which gave rise to this peculiar theory of incarnations,—a wish to represent the incarnate one as free from all hereditary taint of matter and of evil,—was shared by Valentinian heretics, and in the 16th century by our Joan of Kent: see Hardwick's *Hist. of the Reformation*, pp. 278, 279, and n. 6.

blance to the crowd with whom he came to sojourn. He appeared to men as an illustrious sage. The good and evil of successive generations were all noted by him: and his doctrine had been shaped according to the times. He was the great instructor of the generations: he inculcated his principles with due measure. He attained unto the nine heavens: he stretched himself as far as the four seas. Since the period of the three kings, the emperors and potentates of all successive generations have bowed down before him and embraced his teaching[1].' As the story runs, however, in the oldest version, disengaged from wild and fabulous after-growths which thickened with the lapse of ages, Lao-tse is found to be an eminent Chinese sage, of whom it was recorded that he 'loved obscurity,' and who by dint of self-renunciation was believed to have attained the highest point of moral and religious eminence (or, in a word, to have acquired the *Tao*). His early studies lay among the royal archives of his native province, which were placed under his immediate custody: but as the troubles of the age increased and deepened his dissatisfaction with the men and things around him, he appears to have at last retreated altogether to 'the passage of Han-ku[2],' in order that he might devote the evening of his days exclusively to philosophic speculations.

Primitive account of him.

Owing to the mystery in which that period of his life has been enveloped, Lao-tse is thought by many writers to have travelled out of China into

Did Lao-tse travel westward?

[1] Translated in Pauthier's *Mémoire sur l'origine et la propagation de la Doctrine du Tao*, Paris, 1831, pp. 20, 21.

[2] *Notice Historique sur Lao-tseu*, prefixed to M. Julien's edition of the *Tao-te-king*, p. xx. The district to which he retreated was in his native province of Ho-nan.

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Received account:

countries lying westward, and either to have learned or taught in them the leading articles of his creed[1]. The chief authority in favour of this statement specifies[2] not only Hindustan and Parthia, but also districts bordering on the western or Caspian sea, and even kingdoms of Ta-thsin (the Roman empire), as alike included in the regions then explored by the Chinese philosopher. It is doubtless true that such external intercourse would best enable us to account for some points of contact which exist between the doctrines commonly ascribed to Lao-tse, and those which in the same eventful era occupied the thoughtful spirits of India and of Greece[3]. We also find in it a possible explanation of some Aryan and Hellenic mythes[4] which reappear in various dramas of this Chinese sect, but are unknown to others. We may further trace with some degree of probability the origin of contradictions which are said to have existed from early times between historic legends of Confucianists and of Tao-ists, with reference to the founding of the Chinese empire and its ancient civilisation[5]. If Lao-tse had actually braved the perils of a

[1] Abel-Rémusat *Mélanges Asiatiques*, I. 92, Paris, 1825.

[2] See the *Légende Fabuleuse*, as before, pp. xxx. xxxi.

[3] Abel-Rémusat (*Ibid.* p. 95) says, in speaking of the 'sublime reveries' of Lao-tseu, that they present 'une conformité frappante et incontestable avec la doctrine que professèrent un peu plus tard les écoles de Pythagore et de Platon.' Pauthier in like manner concludes, 'avec une espèce de certitude,' that 'les doctrines, les croyances des sectateurs de Lao-tseu sont des doctrines, des croyances *empruntées de l'Inde*.' He then goes so far as to determine that the Chinese philosophy is to be connected with the Sánkhya and Védantine schools (*Mémoire*, as above, p. 49), and even (as he elsewhere argued) with the theorisings of the Gnostics and Neoplatonists, and last of all with those of Schelling.

[4] Above, p. 12, n. 1.

[5] See Prichard, IV. 486. According also to Prof. Neumann (as there quoted) the Tao-ists frequently charge Confucius with rejecting usages and ignoring facts that told against his own system.

journey to the far-off borders of the Mediterranean, and had really drawn his knowledge from a channel which was also open to the other doctors of the ancient world, we are prepared at once to recognise in such community of origin the ground of all the family-likeness which has been detected in the speculations of the East and West. But, on the other hand, the evidence in favour of this connexion is exceedingly precarious, and will never stand the test of rigorous criticism. The legend where the story first appears[1], so far as we have any present means of judging, is taken from a mythological account of Chinese gods and heroes, not earlier than the fourth century after Christ; *i. e.* eight hundred years, and more, after the demise of Lao-tse. It also makes the great philosopher allude to his intention of visiting the Roman empire[2], long before the deposition of the Tarquins and the planting of the first republic: and what is still more noticeable as bearing on the foreign derivation of Tao-ism, it is said expressly that Lao-tse composed his principal work, 'consisting of something more than 5000 words,' *not* after his return from western countries, but upon the eve of the departure for his unknown resting-place.

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how far tenable.

That work, however, still remains (the *Tao-te-king*) the monument of his extraordinary power

The Tao-te-king.

[1] See M. Julien's 'Introduction' to the *Tao-te-king*, p. ix.

[2] Perhaps one of the earliest instances in which China manifested her acquaintance with the Roman empire, occurred in the time of Vespasian and Domitian, when a Chinese army marched victoriously as far as the eastern coast of the Caspian. Their own writers say that the leader of this expedition meditated an attack on the Ta-thsin (Romans), but that on the advice of the Persians he changed his mind: Humboldt's *Cosmos*, II. 185, 186, Sabine's ed.

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and penetration: for even if we hesitate to echo all the praises of an able sinologue, who finds in Lao-tse 'a genuine philosopher, a judicious moralist, an eloquent divine and a subtle metaphysician[1],' there is ample reason for assigning him a place indefinitely higher than the mass of his contemporaries, and superior also to the greatest of his disciples.

Theology of the Tao-ists.

What, then, was the substance of his teaching on the central truth of all religion,—the nature and the attributes of God? In other words, what is the meaning of the *Tao*, which among Tao-ists very soon supplanted both the *Teen* and *Shang-te* of the previous period? It were idle to insist on the resemblance of this appellation either to the *déva* of the Bráhmans, or the θεός of other countries. The primary meaning of the word, as given by Morrison and others, is 'a way,' or 'the fixed Way.' Its secondary meaning is 'a principle; the Principle from which heaven, earth, man and all nature emanates.' Among Confucianists the word was chiefly used in its untechnical sense, but still with indirect allusion to the orderly course of human conduct. 'The way (*Tao*),' said Confucius himself, 'is not frequented: I know why. Intelligent persons go beyond it, while the ignorant fall short of it[2].' As soon, however, as the term had been adopted by Lao-tse and his disciples, many writers have supposed that *Tao* at once became a synonym of 'the primordial

[1] Abel-Rémusat, *Ibid.* p. 93.

[2] Quoted in M. Julien's 'Introduction' to the *Tao-te-king*, p. x. I am indebted largely to the work of this distinguished scholar for the views here advocated on the subject of Tao-ism.

Reason, the Intelligence, which having formed the world, still rules it as the spirit rules the body[1]: and accordingly such writers are accustomed to describe Tao-ism as the 'rationalism' of China. But the recent publication of the sacred book on which the whole of that religion is believed to hinge goes very far to modify the old hypothesis. The *Tao* of Lao-tse in its exalted meaning is declared to be entirely void of thought, of consciousness, of judgment, of activity, of intelligence[2]. It is the deification of that one transcendant *Way* by which all beings came at first into existence: it is fixed, impassible, eternal; and in proportion as mankind are more devoted to the doctrines of apathy and inaction, they are said to walk directly in the *Tao*, to approach the *Tao*, and eventually

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Real meaning of the Tao.

[1] *Ibid.* p. xii. 'Ce mot me semble,' wrote Abel-Rémusat, 'ne pas pouvoir être bien traduit si ce n'est par le mot λόγος, dans le triple sens de *souverain être*, de *raison* et de *parole*. C'est évidemment le λόγος de Platon, qui a disposé l'univers, la *raison* universelle de Zénon, de Cléanthe et des autres stoïciens,' etc. Pauthier goes still further, and connects the doctrine of Christianity itself with Tao-ism, (*Chine*, p. 114). He says that the attributes given to the *Tao* are those 'qu' ont donnés à l' Être suprême toutes les doctrines spiritualistes de l'Orient, transmises à l'Occident *par une voie juive et grecque;* par les thérapeutes et les essénicns, dont Jésus, le fils de l'homme, fut *le révélateur et le représentant;* doctrine dont les gnostiques furent aussi les représentants à l'état philosophique.' He then continues in a passage full of misrepresentations as to the real genius of Christianity: 'Tous ces théosophes, les esséniens, qui étaient en quelque sorte les stoïciens de la Judée, comme Lao-tseu et ses premiers sectateurs l'étaient de la Chine; les thérapeutes, qui menaient en secret une vie contemplative et réglée sur une morale austère; les gnostiques, qui furent les révélateurs et les continuateurs de la *philosophie orientale*, au dire de Clément d'Alexandrie [!]; tous, ou presque tous, partaient du principe "qu'il faut dégager l'âme des entraves et des influences de la matière;" principe appelé *zoroastrien* par les écrivains des premiers siècles de notre ère, parceque ce furent les écrits de Zoroastre qui le transmirent de l'Asie orientale et centrale dans l'Asie occidentale, où, après avoir été interprété et appliqué de mille manières, il devint *le principe chrétien en Europe*' [!].

[2] *Tao-te-King*, ed. Julien, 'Introd.' p. xiii.

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to gain the *Tao*[1]. 'This Way,' writes a native commentator[2], 'whose level is high above the world, has neither colour, form, nor appellation. If you seek it with the eyes, you do not find it: if you listen, you do not hear it. The reason is, that it is not susceptible of utterance by the human voice, nor of being designated by the help of names.' The 'nameless' being is, however, styled by Lao-tse 'the origin of Heaven and Earth[3],' since all things are the fruit of its self-manifestation. 'O how profound the *Tao* is! It seems to be the patriarch of all existences...I cannot tell whose son it is: it seems to have preceded the master of the Heaven[4].' 'Behold the nature of the *Tao:* it is vague, it is invisible.....Inside it, lies a spiritual essence. This spiritual essence is profoundly true.....It gives birth to all beings[5].' 'Man imitates the Earth: the Earth imitates the Heaven: the Heaven imitates the *Tao:* the *Tao* imitates his own nature[6].' Yet the *Tao* in a certain sense, is represented as the fitting guide and model for all human beings. 'He that imitates not the *Tao* will die prematurely[7].' 'A prince that rules his empire by the *Tao* is exempted from the malice of the demons[8].' 'The *Tao* is the refuge of all

[1] *Ibid.* p. xv.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 121, where a distinction is clearly drawn between the ordinary *Tao*, 'the way of justice, of rites and of prudence,' and the sublime *Tao* of Lao-tse.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 1, p. 122.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 7.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 29, 30, 165. In p. 174 we have the supplementary idea of preservation. 'Il nourrit,' says a commentator, 'tous les êtres comme une mère nourrit ses enfans.' Elsewhere it is *Virtue* that nourishes what the *Tao* has produced (p. 75).

[6] *Ibid.* p. 37.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 45, 83, in both of which passages, however, the non-imitation of the *Tao* is explained by the context to mean no more than 'waxing old and impotent,' and by the commentators, 'placing oneself in opposition to the *Tao*' (p. 187).

[8] *Ibid.* p. 89. The gloss upon

creatures: (being universally diffused) it is the treasure of the virtuous man, the ultimate resource and resting-point of the unholy[1].' In a word, the *Tao* is the most exalted and most estimable being in the universe.

How far resembling the God of Christians.

I feel disposed to argue from these various passages and others like them, that the centre of the system founded by Lao-tse had been awarded to some energy or Power resembling the 'Nature' of modern speculators. The indefinite expression *Tao* was adopted to denominate an abstract Cause, or the initial Principle of life and order, to which worshippers were able to assign the attributes of immateriality, eternity, immensity, invisibility. They also felt that human happiness was in some way or other connected with assimilation to its likeness: without, however, rising to a clear conception of its personality, volition or intelligence, much less of those peculiarly moral attributes, as goodness, mercy, justice, which the sacred family were uniformly taught to predicate of the Supreme Being[2]. The will-less, unintelligent *Tao* of ancient China was thus something very different[3] from

this passage (pp. 246, 247) gives us some of the chief characteristics of the perfect prince who governs by the *Tao*: 'Le Saint emploie le vide et la lumière (c'est-à-dire se dépouille de ses passions et dissipe leurs ténèbres) pour nourrir sa nature, la modération et l'économie pour subvenir aux besoins de son corps, la pureté et l'attention la plus sévère pour fortifier sa volonté, le calme et la quiétude pour gouverner son royaume.'

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 93, 251.

[2] M. Callery (*Li-ki*, pp. 142, 143) has some judicious annotations on the same subject. While conceding that the *Tao* of Lao-tse is properly rendered the 'Way,' and is sometimes described as actually possessing the qualities of a way, he thinks that the philosopher was led to the adoption of this term chiefly because it was general and obscure, in order to bring out more clearly the difficulties he experienced in giving any denomination to the Ultimate Principle of all things.

[3] 'Die Idee des christlichen Gottes ist das reine Gegentheil jener leeren

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the personal God of revelation, very different also from the Logos of St John, and from the Living 'Way' of Christians.

Tao-ist doctrine of the Trinity.

Not content with offering violence to the words of Lao-tse, in order at all hazards to establish such affinity, some writers have gone further still, and have discovered in the 'doctrine of Reason' (as they term it) the anticipation of one high and central mystery of the Gospel,—the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in Unity. 'The principal object of the *Tao-te-king*,' a modern Chinese scholar has declared, 'is to establish a particular knowledge of One Supreme Being in Three Persons. Numerous passages so clearly speak of a Triune God, that no one who reads this book can any longer doubt that the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity was revealed to the Chinese more than five centuries before the advent of Jesus Christ[1].' It was expected that a deeper knowledge of this singular resemblance would, as furnishing points of contact with the heathen mind, contribute largely to the spread of Christianity in China, and accordingly the triad of Lao-tse continues to assume importance in the publications of the present day[2]. One writer even goes so far as to discover in the Chinese

Einheit, ist die lebendige Fülle alles Lebens selbst; und diese positivste aller Ideen wird wahrlich nicht durch blosse Verneinungen errungen:' Wuttke, II. 79.

[1] Montucci, *De Studiis Sinicis*, p. 19, Berolini, 1808, (quoted by Julien, *Tao-te-king*, p. iv.) The motive of this writer may be gathered from what follows: 'Studium ergo et vulgatio hujus singularissimi textus, *missionariis utilissima*, evaderent ad messis apostolicæ peroptatam coacervationem feliciter provehendam.'

[2] *e. g.* Wiseman's *Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion*, p. 402, Grant's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 268, Lond. 1844. The former says with great confidence: 'The doctrine of a Trinity, is too clearly expounded in his (Lao-tse's) writings to be misunderstood.'

triad the three principal characters which enter into the formation of the ineffable name of God,— or the JEHOVAH of the ancient Hebrews; and from hence he has not only argued for some actual intercourse between philosophers of Eastern and Western Asia, but has also found in the supposed transcription of the Hebrew name 'indisputable traces of the route which the ideas we call Pythagorean and Platonic had pursued on their migration into China[1].'

Alleged proof.

The only passage of the *Tao-te-king* which supplies a warrant for these grave conclusions is the following: 'You look for the *Tao*, and you see it not: its name is *I*. You listen for it, and you hear it not: its name is *Hi*. You wish to touch it, and you feel it not: its name is *Weï*. These three are inscrutable, and inexpressible by the aid of language; we are therefore in the habit of combining (or confounding) them into one, (the three all seem to meet in one single quality,—voidness or incorporeity). Its upper part is not enlightened: its lower part is not obscure (*i. e.* the properties of this entity are the same throughout).... It is called a form without form, an image without image. It is vague and undefinable. Go before it, and you see not its face; follow after, and you see not its back[2].'

[1] Abel-Rémusat, *Mélanges Asiat.* I. 95, 96, and more fully in his *Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de Lao-tseu*, pp. 43 sq. He affirms that the essential, or articulated, letters of יְהוָה, are I, H, V, and that these were combined into a Chinese trigram I-Hi-Weï, of which, he thinks, the several characters have no meaning in the Chinese language itself, and therefore a meaning for them must be sought elsewhere. This he readily finds in Judæa.

[2] *Tao-te-king*, p. 19, ed. Julien, and notes, p. 147. The version of Dr Wiseman, who follows Abel-Rémusat, is different in some particulars. For instance, one passage is made to say: 'These three are inscrutable, and, being united, form only one. Of them the superior is not more bright, nor the inferior more obscure.' In a

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Explanation.

I give this memorable passage exactly as it stands in the translation of one of the most illustrious living sinologues; but the reader will have scarcely failed to notice that, when so translated, there is little left in it to justify phantastic theories of which it was the strongest and the most explicit basis. I should also add, that so far from the three syllables (*I, Hi, Wei*) enshrouding any special mystery, like that ascribed to them by this hypothesis, they all are terms well-known to China, and were all expounded by disciples of Lao-tse before the Christian era. The first imports the absence of colour; the second, the absence of sound or voice; the third, the absence of form or body[1]; they are, therefore, all most fitly used to characterise the great 'Unnamed,' who is the ultimate Principle of Tao-ists.

Moral system of Lao-tse.

But the moral teaching of this school is even more remarkable than the stress which it has laid upon the thought of some transcendant unity in nature. The genuine convert or 'holy man,' as he is called, was ever anxious to conserve his primitive simplicity. He shrank from every kind of luxury, of bustle, and of competition. His leading aim was to 'make void the human heart;' to drain away from it whatever ministered to passion, to cast off the bondage of 'particular affections,' and convert his principal occupations into virtual in-

second passage of the *Tao-te-king* (p. 65) we read: 'The *Tao* produced one; one produced two; two produced three: three produced all beings:'—which is explained by the native commentators to mean, first, the self-manifestation of the *Tao* as unity, then, the separation of this unity into the male and female principles (*Yang* and *Yin*), and thirdly the production of harmony between these two (p. 211).

[1] *Tao-te-king*, 'Introd.' pp. vii. viii.

activity[1]. He was anxious also to perform good deeds without the slightest sense of satisfaction or even with entire unconsciousness[2]. Each holy man who thus preserved the *Tao*, by destroying or ignoring self, was finally exalted into a model, and perennial source of blessing, for other members of the human family[3]. 'The man of a superior virtue is like water, of which one excellency is that it does good to all creatures. Water also does not strive (it flows into the empty spaces and avoids the full). Its home is in localities which have no charm for crowds (a proof of self-abasement). Therefore does the sage approach still nearer to the *Tao*. He is content with the lowliest positions. His heart is struggling to become as deep (and tranquil) as an abyss. If he distribute favours, his aim is to excel in humanity (his tenderness is not confined to individual favourites). If he speak, his actions do not afterwards belie his promise. If he govern, his desire is to establish peace. If he work, he shews capacity and aptitude. If he change his calling, he adapts himself completely to the times. He strives with no one: hence it is that he incurs no blame[4].' 'I possess three precious things,' is the assertion of Lao-tse himself: 'these I hold and guard as I would guard a treasure. The first is called affection (tenderness for living creatures); the second is called economy (frugality and moderation); the third is called humility, which prevents me from wishing to become the first man

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 5, 7, 9.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 58.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 31. It was not, however, contemplated that all persons were capable of understanding and appreciating the doctrine of the *Tao*: some would of necessity deride it as enveloped in darkness (p. 63).

[4] *Ibid.* p. 11, and notes, p. 136.

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of the empire. I have affection, and hence it is I am courageous. I have economy, and hence it is that my expenditure is large. I dare not be the first man of the empire; hence it is that I have power to become the chief of all men[1].'

The Tao-ist Book of Rewards and Punishments.

But besides the moral truths occasionally enunciated in the 'Book of the Way and of Virtue' (the *Tao-te-king*), we have other and more copious means of understanding the ethical system of Tao-ism. The members of that sect have long been in the habit of printing by subscription, and circulating as a matter of religious duty, the collection of moral maxims known as the *Book of Rewards and Punishments*[2]. Each maxim is followed by a gloss or commentary, and in almost every case elucidated by appropriate tales and anecdotes. The high repute in which this volume stands is further indicated by the circumstance that the authorship has been in modern times attributed to Lao-tse himself, in his capacity of deified and 'venerable Prince' or incarnation of the *Tao*[3]. 'Every wise man,' writes a commentator[4], 'ought to be full of respect for this book: he ought to believe sincerely all the maxims it delivers, and ought to practise them faithfully, regardless of all obstacles, and without suffering the zeal he had evinced at the commencement to diminish at the close of his career. He ought every morning to read it aloud, and to meditate on every phrase with

[1] *Ibid.* p. 101.

[2] *Le Livre des Récompenses et des Peines*, ed. Julien, Paris, 1835.

[3] See above, p. 58. The *Livre des Récompenses* itself attributes the composition to *Thaï-Shang*, another name for Lao-tse. It is, however, in reality a compilation (how modern we cannot say) of sentences drawn or imitated from the *king* of the Confucianists, the *Tao-te-king* and other philosophical and moral treatises: cf. M. Julien's 'Avertissement,' p. x.

[4] *Livre des Récompenses*, &c. p. 519.

serious attention. Let him redouble his efforts to perform good works, and his anxiety and ardour to correct past failings. Then will happiness spring up within himself to recompense his merits; and his end will be advancement to the rank of the immortals.' While the general tone of this production harmonises with the older treatise, it bears frequent witness also to the presence of a more eclectic and accommodating spirit. There was no sympathy whatever between Confucius and the founder of Tao-ism. The contemplative philosopher was in the eyes of the more practical and bustling sociologist a very 'dragon[1], who rises high above the clouds and floats in ether:' and Confucius had no wish to understand him or to follow his example. But this work of the disciples of Lao-tse, while it condemned some other forms of misbelief and of mal-practice, recognised as true the doctrine taught by all the 'three religions[2],'—that which had been long in the ascendancy, and those which had been simply tolerated at the date of its compilation. And in one single passage a commentator actually makes the author of Tao-ism add the worship of the god *Fo* (or Buddha) to a list of other meritorious actions[3]. The original conception of the *Tao* had now indeed been gradually obscured, and ran the risk of being quite obliterated. In this later treatise, the great business of man's life is not to master his affections and escape from everything that tends to agitate his soul, or bind his spirit to

Its eclectic character.

[1] See the version of this well-known story in the *Tao-te-king*, 'Introd.' p. xxix.

[2] *Livre des Récompenses*, p. 422.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 517.

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the earth, but rather, as we saw in Buddhism[1], to accumulate the largest possible stock of merits. It is the duty of the 'three counsellors[2],' or, elsewhere, of the 'god presiding over life,' 'the prince of spirits[3],' to register the bad actions of all men; and according to the measure of their turpitude, as grave or venial, 'to cut off twelve years or else a hundred days from the duration of human life. When the allotted period is exhausted the man dies; but if, at the hour of death, a crime remains unexpiated (or, in other words, if no sufficient compensation has been made), it causes the transmission of unhappiness to his children and his grandchildren[4].' Urged by this regard to the well-being of himself and his posterity, every genuine Tao-ist labours hard to regulate his wishes and to purify his intentions[5]. He must set his own heart right, and then attempt to influence others[6]. He must be humane, abstaining even from all cruelty to the minutest animals[7]. He must practise filial piety, must be affectionate as a brother, and respect his seniors[8]. He must pity the orphan and the widow[9]; he must sympathise with the afflicted[10],

Particular precepts.

[1] Part II. p. 70.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 13. 'These are names given by the Chinese to six stars, placed two and two, which correspond to ικ—λμ—νξ of the Great Bear.'

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 13, 502.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 502. The possibility of repentance and its efficacy, as here glanced at, are both recognised more fully in p. 514.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 328, 512. 'Nous devenons coupables dès le moment que nous avons formé ce désir. Si l'homme peut rectifier son cœur lorsqu'il est seul et désœuvré, il pourra le conserver pur et intact au moment du danger.'

[6] *Ibid.* p. 65.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 51, 73. In the latter passage, it is added: 'Si vous les blessez, vous n'imitez point la bonté du Ciel et de la Terre, qui aiment à donner la vie aux créatures.'

[8] *Ibid.* p. 56.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 68.

[10] *Ibid.* p. 74.

and rejoice with all who prosper[1]. He must help the needy, and take part in rescuing those who are in peril[2]. He is not to boast of his superiority, nor divulge the imperfections of other men[3]. He is to act from kindly motives without waiting for a recompence; and, finally, he must not murmur against Heaven[4]: while they who fail to act according to these noble principles, are said to 'violate the duties which society imposes on them, dishonour their ancestors, stifle the germs of virtue which Heaven has planted in them, and corrupt public manners[5].' CHAP. I.

Moral motives.

In the system of Confucius we are seldom able to detect the slightest reference to a pure and righteous God whose moral law is broken by iniquity. The same remark must be extended also to Tao-ism. Once or twice indeed the doctors of the 'Way' incite us to the imitation of Heaven and Earth, who manifest their gentle nature in dispensing life to all the creatures; but the check imposed on evil thoughts and evil actions is more commonly the fear of giving umbrage not to God, but to the spirits of earth or heaven, who are affected, it is urged, by all the works of men, and have the power to punish or reward according to their quality[6]. The good man's pathway is encompassed by a host of these invisible agents, who are all continually engaged for his protection[7]; and in one remarkable passage, where a Chinese scholar had been strongly tempted to unchastity, the tempter

[1] *Ibid.* p. 77.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 79, 83.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 91, 93.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 107, 372.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 328.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 1.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 126. On the contrary the demons are said to stand aloof from him through terror and respect (p. 124).

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fled confounded by his reference to the supersensuous world, and the proximity of purer beings: 'the spirits of heaven and earth,' he argued, 'encircle us on every side; how then could one think of sinning in their presence[1]?'

Degeneracy of Tao-ism.

We have scarcely any means of ascertaining the amount of influence exercised by this religion in the centuries immediately succeeding the death of Lao-tse. In later ages many of his opinions were disseminated far and wide, not only in China proper, but in Cochin-China, in Tonquin, and in Japan[2]. As early, however, as the reign of Woo-te, the sixth of the Han dynasty who mounted the imperial throne, 140 B.C., a very large accession is recorded to the ranks of the Tao-ists[3]. The fear of death had fallen with unwonted power on many who were filling high positions in the Chinese empire, and unable to find peace or comfort in the tenets of Confucius, crowds of them resorted to the schools of his more spiritual opponent. But Tao-ism, as presented to us in this later stage of its development, had passed into a very different phase. Proceeding, it appears, on the hypothesis that 'holy men' are so completely identified with the *Tao* as to have acquired a perfect mastery over

[1] *Ibid.* p. 331: cf. pp. 489, 490.

[2] Julien's 'Avertissement' to the *Livre des Récompenses*, p. viii. The same writer in his 'Introduction' to the *Tao-te-king* (p. xi.) has pointed out a serious error in some current statements on this subject, according to which Tao-ism was said to have been once extensively propagated in Tibet and northern Hindustan. The mistake arose from confounding *Tao-sse*, followers of Lao-tse, and *Tao-jin*, followers of Śákya-muni—a name given to the Chinese Buddhists before they were called *Seng* or 'Doctors.'

[3] Gutzlaff (I. 235) attributes this accession to the influence of the empress who was addicted to the creed of Lao-tse, 'and considered the heartless doctrines of the Chinese sage [Confucius], as the greatest enemy to the mystical system of her beloved master.'

natural forces, which are still, however, fettering ordinary mortals, the Tao-ists grew most ardent in their cultivation of theurgy and various forms of magic[1]. They became, in some degree, the Neo-platonists of China. Their talk was now of spells, of amulets, of gifts of second sight, of charms, of incantations, of specifics in the very handwriting of the prince of demons; and affecting most of all to tranquillise the apprehensions of their votaries, they sought to manufacture an elixir of such potency, that all who drank it would be rescued from the grasp of death himself[2].

Actual condition of the sect.

Henceforth the school of Lao-tse, in spite of all its early promise, occupied itself far too exclusively in the pursuit of these phantastic and debasing superstitions. To the Christian missionaries of the seventeenth century, the Tao-ists seemed the most 'abominable' sect of China, living only to corrupt and fascinate the populace by magical performances, in which they still are said to figure, at one time as mere jugglers, at another as physicians, at a third as fortune-tellers, at a fourth as gifted with the power of drawing secrets from the world invisible, through intercourse with those who are

[1] Thus in the *Livre des Récompenses*, &c. where magic is condemned whenever it is used for exciting social tumults (p. 422), there is no doubt expressed as to the 'supernatural powers' of some Tao-ists: see, for instance, the 'Histoire' in p. 423, where a magician of the sect was said to have brought down, for immoral purposes, 'toutes les déesses du Ciel et celles du mont Wouchan.'

[2] No traces of this 'elixir vitæ' are found in the *Tao-te-king*. It is said, however, that as early as 209 B.C. a Chinese expedition was sent across the Eastern sea into Japan to seek for such a medicine (Prichard, IV. 493). The idea may possibly have been derived from the *amrita* (= ambrosia) of ancient India (see Part II. p. 15, n. 1). From the East it travelled into Egypt, where Ptolemy Philadelphus, in possession of the secret, could declare ὅτι μόνος εὗροι τὴν ἀθανασίαν: Athenæus, Lib. XII. c. IX. (p. 536 E, ed. Casaubon).

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possessed by demons. They are notwithstanding held in high repute by nearly every class of the Chinese: the ordinary appellation of their chiefs is that of 'heavenly doctors,' and the arch-chief of the sect, resembling in consideration and magnificence the Grand Lama of Tibet, is commonly believed to exercise, as the incarnate *Tao*, absolute dominion in the sphere of the invisible. 'He appoints and removes the deities of various districts, just as the emperor does his officers; and no tutelary divinity can be worshipped, or is supposed capable of protecting his votaries, until the warrant goes forth under the hand and seal of this demon-ruler, authorising him to exercise his functions in a given region[1].'

How remote are all such representations from the glorious facts of Christianity, and from the cheering visions of the Christian Apocalypse! 'Fear not: I am the first and the last: I am He that liveth and was dead, and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hades and of death' (Rev. i. 17, 18).

§ 3. *Fo-ism*[2], *or Chinese Buddhism.*

Unsatisfying character of previous systems.

The sad experience of five centuries had gradually suggested to reflecting China-men, that neither of the two religious systems heretofore espoused, could extricate the human spirit from perplexities in which she found herself involved, nor satisfy the wants and longings of our moral nature. One of these religions had succeeded doubtless in imparting form and animation to Chinese society, but

[1] Medhurst, pp. 200 sq.

[2] *Fo* or *Foě* is the first syllable of *Foě-t'a* or *Fu-t'a* = *Buddha*.

meanwhile pushed into the background every question which affected our relationship to God and to the world invisible. Its chief concern was with the present life. The other, mystic and imaginative in its whole complexion, had run wild as it grew older; it was rapidly transforming the ideas of Lao-tse into a system of most abject demonology,—little if at all distinguishable from the ancient superstitions whose main object was the deprecation and disarming of malignant principles.

Introduction of Buddhism into China.

While brooding over these momentous topics, and, it may be, half despairing for himself as well as for his people, an intelligent emperor, Ming-te, about the sixtieth year of the Christian era, is reported to have had a most remarkable vision. According to one account[1] there stood before him a resplendent figure, of gigantic size, and with a glorious nimbus round the head; and when his ministers of state were all consulted as to the most probable meaning of this dream or apparition, one of them replied that the description of it corresponded to a story he had heard of some great genius in the western country, who might therefore be intending to solicit the notice of the emperor. Another version of the legend is, that in the maxims of Confucius himself, was one affirming that the 'Holy Man' is in the west[2], or will here-

[1] Pauthier's *Chine*, p. 256.

[2] Gutzlaff, I. 250. Some of the early missionaries in China, who gave currency to this legend (*e. g.* Duhalde, *De la Chine*, &c. I. 360 sq. Paris, 1735), were of opinion that Confucius actually intended to point out the birth of Christ, and that the Chinese envoys actually started on a journey into Palestine to hail the advent of the Great Redeemer. On their way they encountered certain Buddhist missionaries coming from India, whom mistaking for true disciples of Christ they carried back as teachers of their fellow-countrymen.

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after issue from the west; and that impressions which this oft-repeated sentence left on the imperial mind could never be obliterated. In either case the sequel of the story is precisely the same. A deputation of mandarins proceed across the western mountains in the hope of learning fresh particulars respecting this mysterious personage; and on returning home they are accompanied by a Hindu teacher, bringing with him a large stock of books, and, as a present to the emperor himself, the portrait of Śákya-muni.

Its early fortunes.

Thus the Buddhism of the Middle Kingdom rose at once into the rank of a 'religio licita;' its formal recognition occurring in the very year when the Apostle of the Gentiles passed in chains to the prætorium of the Cæsars, 'thanking God and taking courage' (Acts xxviii. 15). Buddhism, it is true, has never been allowed to interfere with the administration of the Chinese empire, nor been able to dethrone the old religion of the country. It was more or less contemned by the Confucianists, as foreign, innovating and seditious. Patronised by one prince, it was sometimes roughly handled by another[1]; and in the century after that which witnessed the establish-

'Thus,' says the translator of Schlegel, *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 136, note, 'was this religion introduced into China, and thus did this phantasmagoria of hell intercept the light of the Gospel.' No one has, however, been able to detect the saying here ascribed to Confucius in any of his extant writings. The passage most likely to have suggested the current story is one in the *Chung-Yung*, c. xxix. §§ 3, 4: yet there even no allusion whatever is made to a country *in the west*. It is only declared with reference to the true sage: 'Il conforme ses actions aux lois du Ciel et de la Terre, et il n'éprouve aucun trouble; il se règle sur les intelligences supérieures à l'homme, et son esprit n'éprouve aucun doute: *il est cent générations à attendre le saint homme*, et il ne se dément jamais.'

[1] Pauthier, p. 257.

ment of Christianity in the great metropolis of the west, the Chinese Buddhists, now attaining some numerical importance, were exposed to very bitter persecutions. Edicts from the prince of Wei not only authorised the demolition of their temples and the burning of their sacred books, but also instigated a general massacre of the Buddhist monks[1]. In the succeeding reign, however, dating from A.D. 452, the triumphs of their cause grew visible in almost every part of China. Cloisters rose again with marvellous facility, and multiplied so fast, that at the end of the next fifty years the total number of such buildings had been swollen, it is said, to thirteen thousand[2]. At the same time frequent intercourse with India, some account of which is happily preserved to us in records of the pilgrimages of Fa-hian[3] in the fourth, and of Hiuan-Thsang[4] in the seventh century after Christ, resulted in the importation into China of Buddhist pictures, books and relics, and in the enlistment of a host of fresh auxiliaries,

[1] Gutzlaff, I. 291: Schott, *Über den Buddhaismus in Hochasien und in China*, p. 19, Berlin, 1846. Until this period it seems as if the new religion had made very little progress in China: cf. *Tao-te-king*, 'Introd.' p. x.

[2] Schott, as before, p. 20. The same kind of activity is just now visible in Birmah, where new temples and monasteries ('kyums') are daily springing up, even in the districts under British authority: Wilson, in *Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 260.

[3] Translated by Abel-Rémusat, Paris, 1836.

[4] Translated by M. Julien, Paris, 1853. This latter pilgrim spent seventeen years (A.D. 629—A.D. 645) in countries situated to the west of China. In one passage (p. 26), he thus describes the object of his travels: 'J'étais vivement affligé de voir que les livres sacrés étaient incomplets, et que leur interprétation offrait de fâcheuses lacunes. Oubliant alors le soin de ma vie et bravant les obstacles et les dangers, j'ai fait serment d'aller chercher dans l'occident la *Loi* [Dharma] que le Bouddha a léguée au monde:' cf. p. 44, where he says that on his return to China he will translate and circulate the sacred books, and 'beat down the thick forest of errors.'

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all burning to diffuse a knowledge of the law, or *Dharma;* till, won over by the zeal of Hindu doctors (*Fan-seng*)[1] and ascetics (*shamans*)[2], a large portion of the Chinese populace were numbered with the followers of this foreign creed; nay, emperors themselves, the sons of Heaven, were not unwilling to lay down their sceptres, if they might but pass the evening of their lives beneath the shadow of a Buddhist monastery[3]. The culminating point of these successes was the fall of the Mongol dynasty in 1368.

Varieties of Buddhism.

I may have hitherto appeared to speak of Buddhism as of one organic system, animated by a definite creed, directed by a common hope and purpose, and binding all its converts to one centre of administration. But such inference is unquestionably incorrect. What Buddhism was when it put forth its earliest aphorisms, the 'undeveloped' *sútras,* we have seen[4] already, while engaged in tracing the career of Gautama and analysing the first principles of his philosophy. Yet exactly in proportion to the wondrous elasticity of the system he had founded, and its marked superiority to those distinctions which had long been severing man from man and one people from another, is the freedom and the ease with which it commonly allied itself

[1] *Fan*-seng (= 'doctors out of *India*') has been represented in other languages under the form of *Bonzen* or *Bonzes.*

[2] Schott, as before, p. 18, n. 1, refers this word to a Tungusic origin: but there seems little reason for doubting that it is identical with the Sanskrit *Śramaṇa,* the Páli and Tamil *Samana,* which has been borrowed in comparatively modern times by devil-worshippers of Central and Northern Asia from the Buddhist missionary, and is used by them as the most ordinary appellation of their own magician-priests: see Weber's *Indische Skizzen,* p. 66, Berlin, 1857; Caldwell's *Grammar of the Drâvidian Languages,* p. 519, note, London, 1856.

[3] Schott, p. 20.

[4] Part II. pp. 56 sq.

to pre-existing forms of heathenism, until the thoughts and symbols proper to it have been well-nigh buried in a motley crowd of foreign and conflicting elements. Buddhism once prevailed, or is prevailing, not only in Hindustan[1] the birth-place, and Ceylon the sacred island of the creed, but also in Tibet and Tatary, in China and Japan, in Cochin-China and Tonquin, in Siam and the Birman empire, to say nothing of its ancient rule in Java, and the remnant of it now surviving in Bali, an islet of the Indian archipelago, and possibly in regions still more distant and diverse[2]. Of all these heterogeneous populations none so truly represent the genuine forms of Buddhism, none so cordially agree together, as the natives of Ceylon, of Birmah[3] and Siam, whose sacred books almost entirely correspond, because translated not as in the other cases from Sanskrit, but from Páli. In those countries also images are numerous, yet with the exception of subsidiary figures, which are never worshipped, such as dragons and lions, they are 'all of the same character, representing Gautama or his disciples, generally in a sitting posture with the legs crossed, and the hands in the act of prayer

General distinctions.

[1] Even after the general expulsion from India small bands of Buddhists were still found in particular localities as late as the 12th century: and Jainism, which may be regarded as the surviving twin-sister of Buddhism, continued to produce effects at a far later date; for instance, modifying the ethical spirit of the Tamil literature: see Caldwell, as above, pp. 86 sq.

[2] 'Ob noch weitere Verbreitung des Buddhaismus nach *Polynesien* oder gar nach *Süd-Amerika* hin stattgefunden habe, wie man vermuthet hat, darüber fehlt vor der Hand noch jeder sichere Anhaltspunkt: jedenfalls hat sich daselbst nichts davon direkt erhalten.'—Weber, as above, p. 66.

[3] In Sangermano's *Burmese Empire*, ed. Tandy (Or. Tr. Fund, 1833), p. 83, it is stated that the only Buddhists recognised as orthodox by the inhabitants of that empire are the Buddhists of Ceylon.

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or benediction[1].' On the contrary, as one result of the accommodating character of this creed, amalgamations are elsewhere so numerous that in spite of the original identity of the books disseminated, it requires no ordinary effort to understand wherein consists the family-likeness of the different sects[2]. They all, in general terms, are *Buddhist;* but the main conceptions of their votaries are divergent, nay, in many points are fundamentally opposed.

Fo-ism and Lama-ism.

Perhaps there is no readier and more profitable way of representing this vast disparity than by contrasting some of the chief features of two neighbouring and related systems—the Fo-ism of China, and the Lama-ism of Tibet: for in so doing I may dissipate objections to the Gospel which have long been drawn from the alleged consistency of Buddhism, its compactness and numerical predominance. The new religion was imported into both those countries at nearly the same date; they both together inherited the sacred texts according to the same recension; yet so very inefficient was Buddhism in curbing and subduing the more wayward nationalities with which it came in contact, that, except in isolated cases, the Chinese, who

[1] Prof. Wilson, in *Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 253.

[2] 'In its migrations to other countries, since its dispersion by the Bráhmans, Buddhism has assumed and exhibited itself in a variety of shapes. At the present day, its doctrines, as cherished among the Jainas of Guzerat and Rajpootana, differ widely from its mysteries as administered by the Lama of Tibet; and both are equally distinct from the metaphysical abstractions propounded by the monks of Nepál. Its observances in Japan have undergone a still more striking alteration from their vicinity to the Syntoos; and in China they have been similarly modified in their contact with the rationalism of Lao-tseu and the social demonology (?) of the Confucians...But in each and in all the distinction is rather in degree than in essence.' Tennent's *Christianity in Ceylon,* pp. 206, 207.

have adopted what they call 'the customs of India[1],' are scarcely in their general character to be distinguished from the vulgar followers of Confucius and Lao-tse. The only genuine Buddhists[2] are the monks and mendicants. They only can be said to recognise a common symbol, or confession of faith; they only have initiatory rites; they only form a separate and sacred corporation. Others who are known as worshippers of Fo, and constitute one-half, or possibly two-thirds[3], of the enormous population of the Middle Kingdom, are rather tolerated than approved by the authorities of the sect. They are expected to confess the general excellence of their religion, to confide in some particular Buddha, or to worship one or other of the numerous Pusas (*Bodhisatwas*); to abstain from all the grosser forms of vice, to venerate the sacred writings of their predecessors, and the topes, or *sthúpas*, in which some reliquiæ of a departed Buddha are interred; and finally, to aid by contributions from their substance in supporting the *shamans*, monks, ascetics and devotees[4]. The strict

How far Buddhism prevails in China.

[1] *Catechism of the Shamans*, ed. Neumann, p. 117.

[2] Gutzlaff, in *Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 89.

[3] The same writer (*Ibid.*) conjectures that two-thirds of all the religious edifices in China are nominally Buddhist: but as Schott observes (*Über den Buddhaismus*, &c. p. 23, and 'Zusätze,' p. 127), statements of this kind are only true in a certain sense, *viz.* as implying that the eclectic polytheism of the Chinese populace extends itself so far as to include Buddhas and Bodhisatwas among the objects of common worship.

[4] Schott. *Ibid.* p. 17. The extreme laxity of Fo-ism is never shewn more vividly than in the fact, that the Chinese have little or no scruple on the subject of destroying animal life (cf. Part II. p. 61). They are said to be 'an omnivorous race; few living beings escape being made food for men, and are slaughtered and eaten without the least scruple. But to shew some regard for life, notwithstanding, they now and then dedicate some pigs to Buddha, which are permitted to live their natural space of life, and are never killed' (*Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 84). The Shamans, on the contrary, (*Cate-*

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fulfilment of conditions such as these entitles them, it is believed, to higher spheres of being after death, but does not raise them to the dignity of the 'enlightened,' nor facilitate their passage to *nirvána*, the goal of genuine Buddhism. In Tibet this utter laxity of principle has never been so fully and so openly avowed; yet even there the old divinities are not dethroned entirely, and the poorer classes make their offerings, with the public sanction of the Lamas, to genii of the hills, the woods, the rivers and the valleys[1].

Why the primitive Buddhism was unacceptable in China.

The difference in the measure of amalgamation which took place in these two countries, is attributable to the different tempers of the people, and the circumstances under which the new religion had been introduced. It is recorded[2] of Śákya-muni himself, that on observing no immediate prospect of success among a nation like the China-men, so long at least as the missionaries attempted to communicate his metaphysical doctrines, he suggested the employment of some other means more calculated to effect his purpose. The *Dharma* was to follow gradually upon the track of secular propagandists, who were smoothing the approaches to the Chinese mind, by giving lessons in arithmetic and astronomy. Others might be won by an appeal to the emotional province of their nature; but the China-

chism, as above, p. 124) are directed to be extremely careful in this matter: they are not even to use *dry* wood in cooking, lest they should destroy insects in it.

[1] Major Cunningham's *Ladák*, p. 366, Lond. 1854.

[2] Schott, p. 42. The parallel in modern times is unmistakeable: 'Es sind hier offenbar Arithmetik und Sternenkunde (nebst Sternendeutkunst) gemeint, also gerade diejenigen Zweige des Wissens, welche auch *den römischen Glaubensboten im 17ten und 18ten Jahrh. bis ins Innerste des kaiserlichen Palastes Eingang verschafften.*' Precisely the same course had been pursued in the 16th century, with a view to counteract the Reformation in Bohemia.

man by working on his reason and self-interest. Whatever degree of credit we assign to statements of this kind, they are most useful as implying the strong repugnance which the China-man would always feel to a religious system like that of unadulterated Buddhism. His social instincts were opposed to its monastic rigour, his active habits to the indolence in which it seemed to thrive and revel. More than other men, he proved himself a firm believer in the reality and permanence of the present universe. The Buddhist *sútras*, on the contrary, proclaim[1] the absolute nothingness of all within us and around us: all is treated as an empty show: its origin is from nothing; its destination is to nothing; nay, the very core and essence of creation is declared to be non-being. Human life itself, so precious to the China-man, is in the creed of Gautama compared to single 'dew-drops, trembling on the leaf of the lotus.' Hence, indeed, arose the ardour of the primitive Buddhist in discoursing about the emptiness of human joys, and calling men to a complete renunciation of themselves and of the world. So far from meddling with the common business of society, they were each to seek a quiet refuge in the cloister, or attired in a peculiar dress, the cowl upon their head, the rosary suspended from their girdle[2], to go forth and urge their fellow-men to bow before the majesty of the *Dharma*.

[1] Part II. pp. 63 sq.

[2] See Part II. Append. II.; for in these and other points the monasticism of China resembles that of Tatary and Tibet. In the *Catechism of the Shamans*, as edited by Neumann, the second Part consists of the 'Regulations,' or directions touching the manners and customs of priests (or rather monks) after initiation. The editor remarks (p. 138): 'They so much resemble the monastic rules (Regula Monastica) of the Middle Ages, that one might be supposed to be copied from the other:' cf. Medhurst, p. 217.

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Monasticism predominant in Tibet.

In Tibet, where Buddhism was appealing to an ignorant, a pastoral, a simple-hearted race, it seems to have at once produced a very deep impression. Its actual development is far more nearly that which might have been predicted from a knowledge of its general principles. Disgusted with the 'epicurean atheism[1]' which heretofore prevailed throughout the districts on the Indian frontier, the Tibetians of Ladák had eagerly embraced the offers of the Buddhist missionaries at an early period; and since the middle of the seventh century after Christ, with only one important interruption[2], Buddhism under somewhat different aspects was enthroned as the religion of the whole country. Hence resulted the distinctive character of its dogmas, the apparent fervour of its moral tone, and the severity of its discipline. The mild Tibetians have for centuries been threatening to become a nation of religious mendicants. At the present day, the traveller is amazed by the ascendancy of the *lamas*,—monks, or literally 'superiors,' carrying each one in his hand the 'prayer-cylinder[3]' or 'precious and religious wheel,' a revolution of which is held to be equivalent to the recitation of a roll of prayers. In every family one at least of several children is devoted to the service of the cloister, so that the assemblages of monks and

[1] This, according to Major Cunningham, *Ladák*, p. 357, was the religion of the 'Bons' or 'Pons,' connected with the Sanskrit *Punya* = 'pure.' Hence 'Pons' = Puritans, or Cathari.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 359.

[3] Major Cunningham has shewn (*Ibid.* pp. 375 sq.) the very high antiquity of this device. So efficacious is it thought to be, that 'cylinders, about one foot in height, are placed in rows around the temples, and are turned by the votaries before entering. Larger ones are turned by water, which keeps them perpetually revolving day and night.'

nuns, who flock to the *viháras* in hundreds and in thousands, constitute no inconsiderable part of the entire population. Owing probably to this enormous increase in the number of the *lamas*, the common law of Buddhism, by which mendicants are sternly interdicted from the exercise of all mechanical arts, is totally rescinded, and the *lamas* both of Tibet and of Tatary are permitted to support themselves by various handicrafts, while living in the convents.

Fo-ism without a regular hierarchy.

But another point in which the Fo-ism of the Middle Kingdom has diverged still more considerably from the Lama-ism of the adjacent regions is the absence from it of a regular and graduated hierarchy. When the creed of Śákya-muni finally won its way into the palaces of China, it was only raised to the position of a secondary (non-official) creed. As such the advocates of Buddhism were content to see it left. They urged that it was merely the completion[1], not the contradiction, of anterior systems. In their teaching, they adhered as closely as possible to the language of the sacred writings (*king*); they left the education of the masses in the hands of the imperial government; they recognised the excellence of the Confucian morality, although Confucius was himself esteemed inferior to Śákya-muni, and no fitting object of men's worship[2]; but in order most directly to secure their hold on the affections of the Chinese populace, they cordially accepted current maxims on the duty of sacrificing to departed ancestors[3],

[1] Schott, as before, p. 22.

[2] Thus, in the *Catechism of the Shamans*, it is directed (p. 92): 'You shall not stay in a temple of the followers of Confucius and Lao-tse.'

[3] See above, p. 32.

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nay, freely acquiesced in the established worship both of good and evil spirits[1]. Thus, the continuity of old traditions remaining undisturbed, the 'Son of Heaven' was under no immediate apprehension of losing his supremacy by the admission of the foreign creed. His vast authority, exceeding in religious matters the prerogatives enjoyed by many an autocratic emperor of Byzantium, enabled him to regulate and curb all classes of his subjects, the compliant Buddhists not excepted. The Grand Lamas of Tibet were, on the contrary, the sole depositaries both of temporal and spiritual power. Until comparatively recent times they were the masters of large tracts of country, which they governed in the spirit of the Roman pontiffs during the palmy days of Innocent III. They corresponded with the 'Sons of Heaven' on terms of brotherhood and of equality; and even now, when China has by force of arms obtained possession of Tibet, their claim to jurisdiction, as lords spiritual, continues to be freely recognised, as well in their own neighbourhood as in the hordes of barbarous Calmucks roving from the marshes of the Volga to the ruins of Samarcand. In some respects, indeed, these powerful Lamas and their agents are unlike the lordly pontiffs of western Christendom. Their theory of toleration[2] is most comprehensive. As examples

Hierarchy of Tibet.

[1] In the *Catechism*, as above, p. 102, the priest (or monk), taking the food at dinner in his left hand, is ordered to pray and say: 'O ye bad and good spirits, I now offer you this. May this meat be spread out for all bad and good spirits unto all the ten quarters [?] of the world.'

[2] When a Franciscan missionary of the XIVth century was describing the state of religion in China, he adverted to this characteristic laxity in the following terms: 'In isto vasto imperio sunt gentes de omni natione quæ sub cœlo est, et de omni secta; et conceditur omnibus et sin-

of a system of belief which thrives wherever men are lapsing into pantheism or utter atheism, they hold that each religion of the world has in it all the elements of necessary truth, and consequently that every one 'shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth.'

Lama-ism and Mediæval Christianity.

Yet meanwhile outward forms of Lama-ism are often strikingly akin to rites and customs of Mediæval Christianity. 'The use of the cross, the mitre, the dalmatic, the hood, the office of two choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer of five chains, the benediction of the lamas by placing the right hand on the head of the faithful, the rosary, celibacy of the clergy, spiritual retirement, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies and holy water[1];' such are specimens of the minute coincidences still adduced by Roman-catholic missionaries in proof of the amalgamation which Buddhism had effected in some districts with the ritual system of the Christian Church[2]. In what way soever the liturgical affinities in question are most satisfactorily explained; whether we regard them as genuine imitations rising out of some actual intercourse, or whether they exhibit no more of real sympathy than is implied in the fortuitous resemblance of

gulis vivere secundum sectam suam. *Est enim hæc opinio apud eos*, seu potius error, *quod unusquisque in sua secta salvatur.*' Raynald. *Annal. Eccl.* ad an. 1326, § 31. Marco Polo, in like manner, ascribes a similar declaration to Kublai-Khan (Bk. II. ch. II.): 'There are four great Prophets, who are reverenced and worshipped by the different classes of mankind. The Christians regard Jesus Christ as their divinity; the Saracens, Mahomet; the Jews, Moses; and the idolaters, *Sogomombar-kan*, the most eminent among their idols. I do honour and show respect to all the four.' Instead of the corrupt expression here italicized, read *Śâkya-muni Burchan* ('Burchan' being the Mongolian word for 'Buddha').

[1] See *Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 263.

[2] Cf. Part II. pp. 217 sq., where this subject is considered in detail.

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the ape to man[1],—it is remarkable that only a few of them exist beyond the confines of Tatary and Tibet; while in respect of general organisation, passing downwards step by step from the Grand Lama to inferior orders of the hierarchy, China can as yet present us with no parallels whatever. The communities of Fo-ists in that empire seem to be all virtually independent; they are barely held together by the recognition of common precepts, and the bond which keeps them all in due subordination to the officers of the state-religion.

Doctrine of hereditary incarnations:

Again, the Lama-system differs fundamentally from that of Chinese Buddhism in the doctrine of hereditary incarnations. The great thought of some intelligence, issuing from the Buddha-world, assuming the conditions of our frail humanity, and for a time presiding over some one favoured group of Buddhist monasteries, had been long familiar to the natives of Tibet. The founder of the confraternity of *red* Lamas[2], dating as far back as the eighth century after Christ, is said to be an instance of this self-humiliation. In the following centuries the practice was for monks or mendicants of par-

[1] 'The enemies of Christianity, since the time of Voltaire, have not failed, at the name of Bonzes, to throw out many malicious epigrams against religion. The similarity here observed is not real, but is that caricature resemblance the ape bears to man, and which has led many naturalists into error; for the ape has with man no real affinity, no true internal sympathy in his organic conformation, but merely the likeness of a spiteful parody.....We may lay it down as a general principle that the greater the apparent resemblance which a false religion, utterly and fundamentally different in its spiritual character and moral tendency, externally bears to the true, the more reprehensible will it be in itself, and the greater its hostility to the truth.' F. von Schlegel, *Phil. of Hist.* p. 134.

[2] Cunningham's *Ladák*, p. 367. This Lama (Urgyan Rinpoche), who was invited into Tibet, is said to have been an incarnation of the Buddha Amitábha, the fourth of the celestial Buddhas of that region.

ticular tribes to choose a kind of 'chief-abbot[1],' in the hope of thus preserving the continuity of their order for successive generations. Of such distinguished potentates we have examples in men like Tsong Kaba[2], who founded the great monastery of Khal-dan near Lhassa, in 1409, and by whose influence, it is said, a multitude of changes were effected both in the administration and the ritual system of Tibetian Buddhism. Still no progress seems to have been made, until the latter half of the same century, in ripening the idea of *perpetual* incarnations. Then it was that one chief-abbot, the 'perfect Lama,' instead of passing, as he was entitled, to his ultimate condition, determined for the benefit of mankind to sojourn longer on the earth and be continuously new-born[3]. As soon as he was carried to his grave in 1473, a search was instituted for the personage who had been destined to succeed him. This was found to be an infant, who established its title to the honour by appearing to remember various articles which were the property of the Lama just deceased, or rather were the infant's own property in earlier stages of existence. When the proofs of such identity were deemed irrefragable, the new candidate was formally promoted to the vacant chair: and in the fifth abbot of this series originated the famous hierarchy of the Dalai-Lamas (in 1640). So fascinating grew the theory of perpetual

why so prevalent.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 369.

[2] Also written Tsong Khapa. He is viewed as an incarnation either of Amitábha or of Manju-srí. His tutor was the strange Lama 'from the far west,' who may possibly have imported Christian ideas: Part II. p. 217, and *Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 263.

[3] Cunningham, as before, pp. 368, 369.

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incarnations, that a fresh succession of rival Lamas (also of the *yellow* order) afterwards took its rise at Teshu-lambu, while the Dalai-Lamas were enthroned in Lhassa; and at present[1] every convent of importance, not in Tibet only, but in distant parts of Tatary, is claiming for itself a like prerogative. Each confraternity believes that the departed abbot is still actually present with his subjects though enshrouded in a different body. Conscious of the dark malignity of demons, quivering at the thought of men who practise demoniacal arts and lead astray by their enchantments, these Tibetians are 'in bondage to fear;' their only refuge is the presence and superior holiness of one who, by his mastery over all the adverse forces[2] of creation, is believed to rescue his true followers from the rage of their oppressor. The religion of Tibet is thus from day to day assuming all the characteristics of man-worship[3]. Anxious cravings after some invincible protector, there impel the human spirit to fashion for itself a novel theory of salvation; and the sight of one who styles himself incarnate deity excludes all living faith in God and in the things invisible.

[1] *Journal of As. Soc.* XVI. 254.

[2] 'The Lamas in Tatary are constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud:' *Ibid.* p. 264. This use of magic seems, however, disallowed in some other districts: for the *Catechism of the Shamans*, ed. Neumann, p. 111, prohibits the Buddhist monks from studying 'the works of Lao-tse' on demonolatry, &c.

[3] 'Durch diese vielen leibhaften Gegenstände der Andacht ist die buddhaistische Religion in Tibet *ein wahrer Menschen-Cultus* geworden, indem besonders ihre geistlichen Ober-häupter wahrhaft *göttlicher Verehrung* sich erfreuen. Auch werden die irdischen Überreste jedes Ober-Lama's als Reliquien aufbewahrt und angebetet:' Schott, as before, p. 33.

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Divergence both of Fo-ism and Lama-ism from primitive Buddhism.

From these remarks on characteristic differences between the Fo-ism of China and the Lamaism of other regions, I pass forward to examine some fresh points which serve no less directly to evince the fluctuating and elastic genius of the creed we are reviewing. Buddhism then, as extant both in China and Tibet, is not the Buddhism of Śákya-muni, nor the Buddhism of the earliest race of his disciples. Primitive Buddhism, there is little or no cause for doubting, was entirely atheistic[1]. As such its primary tenet led directly to the thought of ultimate annihilation. There was nothing to receive the spirit of man on her eventual extrication from *sansára*, the world of appearance; and therefore instead of being absorbed as in the old Bráhmanical theology, and so escaping through absorption from the fatal liability to repeated births, the elements of life were all

[1] Cf. Part II. pp. 62 sq. Since the publication of the statements thus referred to, I have had the satisfaction of seeing them repeatedly corroborated by writers of the highest authority. Thus Prof. Wilson remarks in the *Journal of the Asiat. Soc.* (1856), XVI. 255, 256: 'Belief in a Supreme God, the Creator and Ruler of the Universe, is *unquestionably a modern graft upon the unqualified atheism* of Śákya-muni; it is still of very limited recognition. In none of the standard authorities translated by M. Burnouf, or Mr Gogerley, is there the slightest allusion to such a First Cause, the existence of whom is incompatible with the fundamental Buddhist dogma, of the eternity of all existence. The doctrine of an Ádi-Buddha, a First Buddha, in the character of a Supreme Creator, which has found its way into Nepál, and perhaps into Western Tibet, is *entirely local*, as is that of the Dhyáni Buddhas and the Bodhisatwas, their sons and agents in creation, as described by Mr Hodgson. They are not recognised in the Buddhist mythology of any other people, and *have no doubt been borrowed* from the Hindus. There can be no First Buddha; for it is of the essence of the system that Buddhas are of progressive development: any one may become a Buddha by passing through a series of existences in the practice of virtue and benevolence, and there have been accordingly an infinitude of Buddhas in all ages and in all regions:' cf. Schott, as before, p. 2, Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 67, and note.

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declared by early Buddhist doctors to be literally 'burnt out,'—the spirit passed at length into extinction, or *nirvána*[1]. 'Existence,' they contended, 'is a tree: the merit or demerit of the actions of men is the fruit of that tree and the seed of future trees: death is the withering away of the old tree from which the others have sprung: wisdom and virtue take away the germinating faculty, so that when the tree dies there is no reproduction[2].' Atheism was thus attaining its most dismal consummation in proclaiming an abyss of universal void.

New theology:

On the contrary, there often lingered in the mind of northern Buddhists the idea of some great Being separable from this frail and shadowy world, superior also to the highest of created entities, and constituting in himself the only source of ultimate felicity. The very Buddha who persisted in ignoring the Creator and the Judge of men was sometimes elevated to this dignity; while the *nirvána* of his early followers, far too cold, too dreary, and too abstract, was ere long invested by the popular imagination with a different class of attributes, nay, changed into a paradise of inexhaustible enjoyment. In Nepál, and portions also of Tibet, we find the traces of a still more definite and systematic theology, yet there it had been borrowed, we have reason to believe, from the adjacent Bráhmanism[3]. By five spontaneous acts of wis-

in Nepál and Tibet;

[1] This point has also been recently discussed by Mr Max Müller, *Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims*, pp. 45 sq. Lond. 1857. Schott very aptly defines *nirvána*, in its more abstract meaning, as 'ein von allem Etwas ewig befreites Nichts' (p. 11).

[2] Quoted in Wilson, as before, p. 257, from a *sútra*, where Śákyamuni is made to confute sixty-two Bráhmanical heresies.

[3] Wilson, as above, p. 93, n. 1. The intermixture is still further illustrated in the numerous elements derived by Buddhists of Nepál and of Tibet from the mystical system of the

dom and reflection, the self-existent Ádi-Buddha has projected from his own essence five intelligences of the first order ('the celestial Buddhas'); which in turn, by their exertion of corresponding energies, give birth to other five intelligences of the second order ('the Bodhisatwas[1]'). These become creative agents in the hands of God, or serve as links uniting him with all the lower grades of creaturely existence. But to other countries lying within the circle of Buddhist witchery this doctrine of spontaneous emanations is utterly unknown. The Buddhas are, in every case, 'enlightened' men, advancing upwards by the natural force of merit from one stage of greatness to another, till at last they are exempted altogether from the sad contingencies of human life. The Bodhisatwas (or, in Chinese, *Pusas*[2]) are, again, incipient Buddhas; they are all accredited competitors, approaching the possession of like immunities and like distinctions; they are rising by self-sacrifice and through the salutary influence they exert upon their fellow-men to that which forms the summit of all human efforts. Yet this very goal which Buddhas have attained, and Bodhisatwas are attaining, is to be the final destination of all sentient beings. Every age produces an array of Bodhisatwas, and hereafter at the winding up of universal nature, when its mighty revolutions are complete, *sansára* will have been utterly depopulated by the gradual

how far operative.

Hindu Tantrists. Thence, for example, came the 'filthy theory of the Buddhist Sáktis,' or the female energies of the Dhyáni Buddhas: Cunningham's *Ladák*, pp. 366, 384.

[1] See Abel-Rémusat, *Mélanges Posthumes*, p. 48, Paris, 1843.

[2] 'Bodhisatwa' = *Pu-ti-sa-ta*, then *Pu-ti-sa* and finally *Pu-sa*. In the estimation of the ordinary Fo-ist a *Pusa* is a god, one inmate in the crowded pantheon: Schott, p. 23.

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drafting of its tenants to the Buddha-sphere, *i.e.* by their annihilation, in the language of philosophy, or by their deification, in the language of the simple and unlettered. In this system, therefore, it is plain that the idea of God, though not expressly and in terms excluded, has been robbed of all its force, its meaning, and its vitality; and hence in spite of rapturous invocations now and then addressed to a superior Buddha, as identical with a supreme Intelligence, the Fo-ists of the Middle Kingdom can be hardly said with any measure of propriety to know or fear, to love or worship God. Their ethical writings[1] are devoid of reference to His being: they contain no single precept on the duties which men owe to Him.

Fo-ist objects of worship.

But is it then to be concluded that the Chinese Buddhists are without a definite object of religious worship? On the contrary, the empire is now thickly studded with their temples: 'they combine irreconcileable principles of atheism and polytheism,' insomuch that it is easier 'to find a god than a man in China[2].' Towering high above the other images are three colossal forms which reappear in almost every temple. These are either representations[3] of a Buddha and two of his chief disciples;

[1] *e.g.* the *Catechism of the Shamans*, passim. The Buddhist monk when called to his devotions by the sound of the wooden bell is to utter a wish that it may 'glorify the religion,' and that 'all living creatures may become enlightened' (p. 101): but there is no mention of any duty which men owe to God. The most that we can say of the 'God-like nature' is, that it dwells 'in an atmosphere of eternal complacency and repose; no greater sympathy [being shewn] with good than with evil, no displeasure against sin, no manifestation of approval of virtue.' Sir J. Bowring, *Kingdom and People of Siam*, I. 294. Lond. 1857.

[2] Medhurst, p. 219.

[3] Wilson, as before, p. 253. Abel-Rémusat (*Mélanges Posthumes*, p. 26,) has cited a prayer where he thinks that worship is rendered to Buddha as *the first member of a triad*. The

or else of three Buddhas, past, present, and future; or in other cases they are meant to symbolise the primitive Buddha, Śákya-muni, as allied with *Dharma*, the religion he had founded, and with *Sanga*, the community or confraternity of religious men. It is, however, most remarkable, as again exemplifying the multiformity of Buddhism, that the 'Three Precious Ones' of modern China are not identical with the 'Three Supremacies' of somewhat earlier generations. Śákya-muni has indeed his constant votaries not only as the Shakya-Thubba of Ladák, and as the Kodom or Gautama of other regions, but also as the She-kia and the Fo of Chinese Buddhism. Yet his fame appears to have been long declining even where the solemn sacrifice of flowers and perfumes still continues to be offered; and hereafter, on the expiration of five and twenty centuries from the present time[1], he is expected to be absolutely superseded by a fresh and more benignant Buddha, called *Mâitréya* or *Mi-le*. It was probably a consequence of this foreboding as to his eventual deposition that led in China and in some adjacent districts to the worship of three other objects, scarcely inferior to Gautama himself, yet all of them unknown to the original Buddhists[2]. Such are Amitábha

Śákya-muni supplanted.

form is this: 'Adoration à *Bouddha*, adoration à *Dharma*, adoration à *Sanga*,' to which is annexed the Bráhmanical *Ôm*. But as Schott remarks (pp. 39, 40): 'Unter *Dharma* und *Sangga* versteht man im ganzen buddhaistischen Hochasien und eben so in China *keine mit Buddha eins ausmachenden Personen, oder aus seinem Wesen emanirten Kräfte*.' If this latter notion exist anywhere it has long been restricted to the Buddhist monasteries of Nepál: cf. on the other side, Major Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 35, 36, 358, Lond. 1854, and his *Ladák*, pp. 362, 363.

[1] Schott, p. 13; Bowring's *Siam*, I. 305; Sangermano's *Burmese Empire*, p. 85.

[2] Wilson, as before, pp. 241, 242. Two out of the three are first noticed

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(O-me-to[1]), Avalókitéśwara (Kwan-shi-in[2] or Padma-páńi), and Manju-śrí[3] (Jámya or Jam-pal). The last, though chiefly occupied, as men believe, in the diffusion of religious truth, and in such office bearing in his hand a naked sword, the symbol of his power and his acumen, has not hitherto absorbed so large a share of popular devotion[4] as the two with whom he is immediately associated. His province is the world of intellect; while Kwan-shi-in, the second of these three divinities, is the author of all joy and happiness in the family-circle, and has even been deputed to administer the government of the whole earth. In many districts of Tibet, which seems to claim his more indulgent patronage, he is incarnate, under the name of Padma-páńi, in the person of the Dalai-Lama: and perhaps no cry so often strikes the ear of travellers in that country as *Om! Mani-padme! Húm,* 'Glory to the Lotus-bearer, Húm[5]!' Both

Manju-śrí.

Kwan-shi-in, or Padma-páńi.

in the account of the pilgrimage of Fa-hian (at the close of the 4th century): Cunningham's *Ladák,* as before.

[1] The Chinese modification of the Sanskrit *Amitábha* (= 'unmeasured, infinite Light.')

[2] Kwan-shi-in = 'world-inspecting *Sound,*' a mistaken rendering of the Sanskrit *avalókita-íśwara* = 'world-inspecting *Lord.*' The mistake arose from not perceiving the fusion of *a* + *i* into *é*, and so reading *swara* 'sound' for *íśwara* 'lord.' The other title *Padma-páńi* is also pure Sanskrit (= 'lotus in his hand,' or 'lotus-bearer'), and is said to accord in signification with the Tibetian name *Chakna-padma:* Schott, p. 30, n. 1. Major Cunningham, on the contrary, identifies *Avalókitéśwara* with the Tibetian *Chanrazik,* and regards Padma-páńi as a different and still later Bodhisatwa: *Ladák,* pp. 362, 363, 383.

[3] Another form, also of Sanskrit origin, is *Manju-gósha.* The first seems to indicate a being of 'mild or gentle majesty;' the second a being of 'mild or gentle voice:' Schott, p. 40, n. 1. The Chinese corruption of *Manju-śrí* is *Wen-choo;* while the Tibetian form is *Jam-pal.*

[4] Schott, p. 41.

[5] *Mani-padme* is a misreading or corruption of the Sanskrit *Padma-páńi.* The whole of this invocation, alluding to the way in which Padma-páńi was first revealed, is said to

there and in Mongolia, this far-stretching potentate is represented sometimes with innumerable eyes and hands, and sometimes with as many as ten heads, all bearing crowns and rising conically one above another[1]: but in every part of China the imagery employed is far less cumbrous and ornate; and what is more remarkable, this single tenant of the Buddha-world, in violation of a law by which distinctions as to sex are not perpetuated in the most exalted stage of being, is invested with a female figure and with feminine decorations[2].

Amitábha, or O-me-to.

High above the head or heads of Padma-páṅi, and so forming the very apex of that sacred cone or pyramid, is seen the visage of his great superior, Amitábha, who, radiant with the glories of a perfect Buddha[3], is perhaps the most revered of all the objects worshipped in the Fo-ist temples. It is probable that he was once regarded only as an image of the absent Śákya-muni, who on finishing his salutary work is thought to have retreated for a while into some deep abstraction, without absolutely ceasing to exist. Amitábha may thus have been to the originator of the Buddhist creed exactly what his offspring and co-regent, Padma-páṅi,

have been suggested directly from heaven, as the bearer of innumerable blessings to the human family: Abel-Rémusat, *Mélanges Posthumes*, p. 403. 'Neubekehrte Fürsten der Mongolei lernten vor Allem diese Formel beten, vermuthlich damit der heilige Schauer, den sie ihnen einflössen sollte, das Feld ihres Glaubens desto fruchtbarer machte; und noch heutzutage ist sie in beiden Ländern [Tibet and Mongolia] dem Laien eben so geläufig als dem Geistlichen, und behauptet sich neben seinen anderen vorschriftsmässigen Gebeten.' Schott, p. 61.

[1] Schott, p. 45; Wilson, as before, p. 242.

[2] *Ibid.* Perhaps this notion may be borrowed from the theory of Buddha-śaktís, or female energies, which is, and has been for some ages, current both in Nepál and in Tibet: see Cunningham's *Ladák*, p. 364.

[3] 'Den Chinesen ist nun A-mi-ta, (O-me-to) ein vollendeter Buddha, wie Śâkjamuni, aber von diesem bestimmt geschieden:' Schott, p. 49.

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will in course of ages be to him. So great, however, is the present dignity of Amitábha, that all the other gods of China are apparently outstripped by him, and well-nigh thrown into the shade[1].

Supremacy of O-me-to.

To him the Fo-ist looks for grace, for mercy, for deliverance from all kinds of evil. Starting like the previous Buddhas from a low position, he has worked his way, it is believed, through a succession of new births into the loftiest sphere of the invisible regions. There he sits enthroned for ever on a lotus, his celestial court comprising an array of *Pusas* (or advanced competitors for Buddha-ship), and closer still in place and honour to his own unrivalled majesty, appearing his chief-minister and disciple, the co-regent Padma-páńi[2].

Paradise of O-me-to.

The main features of this paradise of Amitábha are deserving of a more extended notice, partly on the ground that they are altogether irreconcileable with the early creed of Buddhism[3], and partly as suggesting a comparison with images that sometimes meet us on the page of sacred prophecy. 'This paradise includes within it every thing most noble and most sumptuous; and the city of the gods is all constructed of gold and

[1] 'Mit seinem *unendlichen Lichte* [the meaning of Amitábha] hat er Sâkjamuni selber fast ganz verdunkelt.' *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.* p. 50.

[3] Schott, who has translated largely from a Chinese work intended to excite men's faith in the *Tsing-t'u* (or paradise of Amitábha), says with perfect truth that very much of the description, and the whole theory respecting this Buddha, is in direct contradiction to the creed of Gautama. 'Amitábha soll ein vollendeter Buddha sein, obschon ein Solcher nicht einmal vom Himmel aus an dem Erlösungswerke ferneren Antheil nimmt. Er und die seligen Bewohner seines Reiches sollen *ewig leben*, obschon dies einem Axiome des Buddhaismus geradezu widerspricht. Die im Tsing-t'u Wiedergebornen leben dort... mit Pusa's zusammen, sind im Besitz derselben Gaben, im Genusse derselben Vortheile, und doch keine eigentlichen Pusa's.' (p. 57).

precious stones, arranged with perfect art. The atmosphere is ever redolent of spices, and resounds with blissful harmonies. The streams again move forward like a tender strain of music. Round about are stately trees of silver with branches of pure gold, all covered by a rich variety of precious stones and the most gorgeous fruits. The spaces also are occupied by trees of eight different sorts, consisting each of two different jewels, on whose leaves and on the lotus-flowers there growing in the midst, innumerable seats have been provided for the Buddhas. A golden vault responding to the breath of every zephyr in celestial harmonies extends its shadow over all the trees, and at their feet flow forth in gentle murmurs many a copious stream of water, holy, living, wonder-working. The tenants of this paradise are all without distinction of rank or sex[1]; they all are equal, glorious in form and aspect, and exempted from the possibility of future births into a world of misery. In the centre of the region is a grove consisting of the goodliest trees; where peerless in his beauty and resplendent as the evening sky reposes the great Buddha Amitábha, a peacock and a lion forming the supporters of his throne. His right hand, the dispenser of his grace, is white, and rests upon his lap: while in his left hand, he is holding a dark vase of holy water. Round about him sit the Bodhisatwas, his elect,

[1] In a different description of the paradise of *O-me-to* (Amitábha) communicated in Medhurst's *China*, p. 207, it is said that 'there are no women; for the women who live in that country are first changed into men.' The legend then continues: 'The inhabitants are produced from the lotus-flower, and have pure and fragrant bodies, fair and well-formed countenances, with hearts full of wisdom, and without vexation,' &c.

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who offer up their prayers for the well-being and conversion of all creatures[1].'

Salvation by O-me-to.

The possession of this supreme felicity is said to have resulted in all cases, not as in the primitive Buddhism[2] from ascetic habits painfully acquired by free submission to an almost endless series of new births, but simply from unbounded trust in Amitábha, and unceasing prayer to him in his capacity of champion and rewarder. He swore, it is believed in China, that 'if any being in all the ten worlds should, after repeating his name, fail to attain life in his kingdom, he would cease to be a god[3].' The process of salvation was now represented, in accordance with the earth-ward tendency of men addressed, as something far more easy and indulgent than was commonly imagined. 'It requires no whole day, but only a few instants every morning. What it asks for is, one prayer [*O-me-to Foĕ*, or 'Amitábha Buddha'], ten times repeated. It is, therefore, burdensome to no man: it will interfere with no man's social duties, nor his worldly business....Yes! it is the work of an instant every morning, and nevertheless it brings advantages that are to last for all eternity[4].' Faith, however, is imperatively needed in the human subject ere this saving work can be achieved. Without it there ensues no movement in the right direction, just as when the will refuses to exert its force upon the bodily organism. 'A Buddha can deliver all

Faith in O-me-to.

[1] Translated from a Mongolian source in Schott, pp. 52, 53. The Chinese legends on the subject which, as he observes, are very numerous, preserve the same general outlines, but, as might have been anticipated from the genius of the people, all the details are less florid and grotesque.

[2] Cf. Schott, pp. 57, 58.

[3] Medhurst. *Ibid.*

[4] Translated by Schott from the *Tsing-t'u-ucn*, as before, p. 65.

creation, yet is powerless in respect of men, who have no faith[1].' The vilest sinner, on the contrary, who is possessed of this most efficacious principle, will rise at once superior to the fear of death, and will be rescued from the pains of hell. If at the hour of dissolution he have strength enough to supplicate the mercy of *O-me-to*, and can repeat the supplication ten times, 'the images of hell are sure to be transformed into a lotus; and the sinner, snatched from ruin, will obtain admission into paradise. The Buddha,' it is added, 'can effect all this, because his mercy and his wonder-working power are both indefinitely great[2].'

Apparent resemblance to Christianity.

The reader may be tempted to infer on meeting with this very remarkable language, that the authors of the documents in question were not altogether strangers to Christianity itself, whose tenets they appear to be adopting and distorting. And in favour of such interpretation is the fact, that their idea of absolute faith in one divinity as *the* condition of deliverance from all forms of evil, was unknown to every other creed of heathendom, until, in times comparatively recent, it was also manifested in the Krishṅa worship of the Bráhmans, and perverted by them into pretexts for unbounded laxity and self-indulgence[3]. Every one, moreover, is

[1] *Ibid.* p. 81.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 94. A discussion follows as to whether the intercession of the living is available for the comfort or recovery of the dead. 'In den *Sûtras* steht geschrieben: "Die verdienstlichen Handlungen, welche Andere nach seinem Tode für den Menschen thun, erwerben nur eins von sieben [*i.e.* the harvest is disproportionate to the seed sown]; was aber der Mensch *für sich selbst bei seinen Lebzeiten thut*, das wird ihm tausendfältig vergolten." Warum also wartet man bis an seinen Tod, und bittet Andere, statt seiner zu beten?'

[3] See Part II. pp. 90, 166, 167, and the more recent consideration of the subject in Weber's *Indische*

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disposed to grant that the Chinese conception, as here indicated, is quite foreign to the ethics and religion of Śákya-muni, and in truth was a production of far later ages[1].

Intercourse of Christians and Fo-ists.

Possibly, when some adventurous heralds of the Gospel, in the seventh and following centuries after Christ, began 'to turn their faces towards heaven, and, travelling with the Book of Truth[2],' surmounted the vast obstacles that severed China from the western world, the influence they exerted in the presence of a creed so flexible as Fo-ism, was more deep and lasting than is generally believed. Or it may be that in still later ages, when the courts of the Great Khan were thronged by ardent representatives of all known religions; when the Christian preachers in particular were 'commanded to attend him and bring with them their Book[3];' and when, as the result of this indulgence, both the Latins and Nestorians dared to plant their missions even in Peking itself, the eastern capital of the

Skizzen, pp. 92 sq. He is now even more persuaded that Christianity was at the bottom of those thorough changes in the old beliefs of India (p. 94).

[1] Schott, p. 58, who refers these modifications to a period, 'in welcher man selbst den Geistlichen keine grossartige Selbstverläugnung und keine angestrengte Meditation mehr zutrauen konnte.'

[2] This phrase occurs in the famous Syro-Chinese inscription, the genuineness of which has been disputed for more than two centuries: see, on the one side, Abel-Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiat.* II. 189 sq. and on the other, Prof. Neumann, in the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaft. Kritik* (1829), pp. 592 sq. Mr Kesson, *The Cross and the Dragon*, pp. 16 sq. Lond. 1854, and (more in detail) M. Huc, *Le Christianisme en Chine*, I. 48–93, have reviewed the whole question. But, however that particular controversy may be settled, there is no doubt that soon after A. D. 782 (the date of the inscription) Christianity did find its way as far as China through the wide-spread influence of 'Nestorian,' or Syrian, missionaries (Huc, I. 98 sq.)

[3] See the narrative in Marco Polo, Bk. II. ch. II. (p. 167, ed. Wright) and Huc, I. 367 sq. The title of M. Huc's chapter is 'Le Catholicisme à Péking pendant le treizième siècle.'

empire, some of the vibrations thus excited in the Chinese mind had led to an occasional adoption of Christian phraseology, analogous to what is happening in the *Tae-ping* rebels of the present day.

Real antagonism between the two systems.

But whatever be the true account of the phenomena to which I have adverted, it is obvious that the actual changes in the Fo-ist system did not penetrate below the surface. Faith in Amitábha bears the slightest possible relation to faith in Christ the Righteous. The phantastic paradise of Amitábha has no common ground with that which Christians see prefigured on the glowing page of the Apocalypse. In both those heathen parallels the most essential element is one that has receded most of all into the background. Holiness of heart and life is not proclaimed in them as the concomitant of genuine faith, nor as the one condition of eventual blessedness; but, on the contrary, the novel tenet has been there adopted with the plain avowal that by it mankind will be exonerated altogether from the stern injunctions of the moral law. On sifting all such specious but entirely hollow approximations to the doctrine of our blessed Lord, one is continually reminded of the daring counterfeits disseminated far and wide by the abettors of the earliest heresies. The solifidianism of Hindustan and China is the solifidianism dissected and denounced by the believing Irenæus[1]. It is alien from the spirit of pure and

[1] 'Quapropter nec ulterius curarent eos [*i. e.* prophetas] hi, qui in eum [Simonem] et in Helenam ejus spem habeant, et ut liberos agere quæ velint: secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines, sed non secundum operas justas.' Iren. *Contra Hæreses*, Lib. I. c. XXIII. § 3 (ed. Stieren).

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Catholic Christianity. Attempts to mix what is incapable of admixture, were accordingly resisted and defeated here and there upon the very threshold. Men discovered that they could not 'sew a piece of new cloth on an old garment:' concord or consistency was felt to be impossible: 'the new piece taketh away from the old, and the rent is made worse.'

Present decline of Fo-ism.

It is, indeed, the clear opinion of those modern writers who have had the largest opportunity of tracing out the principles of Buddhism to their practical results, that while it has appeared to flourish most in Birmah and Siam, its course in China has for centuries been one of retrogression and decay. The very monks of Fo-ism, who are nominally bound by far more stringent regulations than the rest of the community, are said to go beyond their pupils in the puerility of their superstitions and the immorality of their lives. 'The ignorance, selfishness, chicanery, mendacity, mendicancy and idleness of the bonzes cannot be exaggerated,'—such is the deliberate judgment of one[1] who spent his days in China, chiefly in the

[1] See Gutzlaff's communication, which he sent to Europe not long before his death, in the *Journal of the As. Soc.* XVI. 73 sq. His testimony is echoed on the whole by that of Sir John Bowring, who cannot be charged with disparaging Buddhism in order to exaggerate the importance of Christianity. He writes (*Kingdom and People of Siam*, I. 297, Lond. 1857): 'The real and invincible objection to Buddhism is its selfishness...A bonze seems to care nothing about the condition of those who surround him: he makes no effort for their elevation or improvement. He scarcely reproves their sins, or encourages their virtues. He is self-satisfied with his own superior holiness, and would not move his finger to remove any mass of human misery.' Wuttke, by a different process, comes to a result substantially the same: 'Thatsächlich hat der Buddhismus in China allen Geist verloren, ist faul und dumpf geworden: ein ganz mechanisches Formel-wesen, dem Chinesen so natürlich, hat die Stelle der gewaltigen Ideen eingenommen.' (II. 84.)

hope of elevating the moral and religious status of the Chinese people. And even if it be contended that the Christian zeal of men like Gutzlaff cause them here and there to overcolour their descriptions of the blindness and the inefficiency of Fo-ism, no one will deny that its material strength has long been rapidly declining, and the outward glory of the system vanishing from day to day. The Fo-ist temples 'are now mostly deserted, and in a state of ruins; the votaries fewer and fewer, and the offerings very sparing[1].' What may be the future of this mighty empire, what the changes that may supervene hereafter on the agitation of the present times, it were not easy to conjecture. The Christian missionary may have still occasion to sit down and cry despairing on the frontier, 'O that the everlasting gates of rock would open!' but one fact appears to have been well established, that in this particular 'China during the last twenty or forty years has undergone a very great change, and is still verging to a more important crisis[2].'

How far primitive Buddhism was a civilizing agent.

I am far, however, from contending, with some Christian writers, that the vast dissemination of Buddhist tenets was in former days so utterly adverse to the higher interests of humanity. To say of this religion that its votaries are people 'whose business is to do nothing, to think on nothing, and to live as much as possible on nothing[3],' is a representation meagre, hasty, and one-sided. When

[1] Gutzlaff, as above, p. 91.

[2] *Ibid.* How far the struggles now proceeding may affect the ultimate position of Chinese Buddhism is also matter of deep interest to those who watch the fortunes of the Middle Kingdom: for it is well known that the rebels have invariably betrayed a most decided hostility to Fo-ism, its doctors and its images.

[3] Neumann, *Pref.* to the *Catechism of the Shamans*, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

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Buddhism started on its northern missions, full of youthful hope and unextinguishable ardour, we behold it shaping many a savage horde into a peaceful confraternity; it quenched the violence of domestic strife; it sheathed the scimitars of the bloodthirsty Mongols, who were bent on carrying desolation to the very heart of Europe; it planted convents, and therewith conventual schools and libraries in regions heretofore oppressed by every kind of demonolatry and darkness; it carried some imperfect elements of Hindu civilisation far across the sandy wastes of Tatary, and shed some glimmerings of a higher light within the borders of Siberia; and even if the proselytes it made have far too frequently relapsed into their old condition, and so proved the utter impotence of Buddhism to effect a permanent and radical change, the partial benefit resulting from its propagation ought on no account to be forgotten. Buddhism should in fact be measured, not by Christian, but by heathen standards; and when so regarded, it will, in its palmier days, appear almost to justify the startling eulogy bestowed upon it by a modern writer, when he speaks of Buddhism as the 'Christianity of the East[2].' The stress which it originally placed on ethics in their social and political aspect; its contempt for principles which long created an impassable gulf between the different orders of Hindu society; its fuller recognition of the rights of woman; its mild and inoffensive spirit, its equanimity

Its ethical character.

[1] See Part II. pp. 71, 190.

[2] 'On a désigné le bouddhisme par le nom de *Christianisme de l'Orient*, et, à la convenance près, cette exagération exprime assez bien l'importance des services qu'il a rendus à l'humanité:' Abel-Rémusat, *Mélanges Posthumes*, p. 237.

under suffering, its forgiveness of injuries, are some of the peculiar features which adorn its moral code. Instead of ministering[1] to all the grosser passions, like the theories of Islam, it carried its appeal directly to the intellectual and contemplative province of man's nature; instead of finding its chief stimulus in struggles after fame and in the offer of material prosperity, it preached the vanity of earthly goods, the hollowness of human approbation; instead of teaching man to hoard the produce of his industry, it not unfrequently suggested the devotion of superfluous treasure to the founding of a refuge for the blind, the destitute, the crippled, the diseased. Some kings are mentioned[2], who, starting from the worship of the 'Three Precious Ones,' had carried their philanthropy and tenderness for every kind of animal life to most absurd extremes, and even were accustomed to dole out in

[1] See the *Dharma* contrasted in this particular with the *Korân* by Major Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 53, 54.

[2] The following picture of a model Buddhist king is well worth transcription. It is taken from the *Vie et Voyages de Hiouen-Thsang*, ed. Julien, pp. 204, 205: 'Suivant la tradition, le trône était occupé, il y a soixante ans, par un roi nommé Kiaï-ji (*Ctlâditya*): il était doué de grands talents et possédait de vastes connaissances. Il était humain, affectueux, bienfaisant et dévoué pour le bonheur du peuple. Il était plein de respect pour les Trois Précieux [the *Buddha*, the *Sanga*, or assembly of religious, and the *Dharma*, or Law]. Depuis son avénement au trône jusqu'au moment de sa mort, nulle parole inconvenante ne s'échappa de sa bouche, et la colère ne rougit point son visage. Jamais il n'eut l'idée de faire du mal à ses sujets ni de tuer une mouche ou une fourmi. Dans la crainte de causer la mort aux insectes qui vivent dans l'eau, il ne permettait pas d'en donner à boire aux éléphants ou aux chevaux avant de l'avoir soigneusement filtrée. Quant aux hommes du royaume, il leur défendait sévèrement de tuer des animaux. De là vient que les bêtes féroces s'attachaient aux hommes, les loups oubliaient leur fureur; la paix régnait dans l'intérieur des frontières, et des présages de bonheur éclataient chaque jour.' Another king of the same name, and contemporaneous with the traveller himself, was in the habit of convoking general assemblies, and there distributing all his wealth among his subjects (p. 256).

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alms not only the immense accumulations in the royal coffers, but the whole of their personal ornaments.

The last hours of Hiuan-Thsang;

It would, perhaps, be difficult to single out a Buddhist of any period in the range of history who manifested such a high and generous nature as the pilgrim, Hiuan-Thsang, to whom I have before alluded. The best portion of his life was all consumed in perilous wanderings, undertaken with the aim of rescuing the *Dharma* from the errors which had overgrown it, and of recommending it on every side to the affections of his fellow men. In these researches he was able to collect a multitude of sacred writings, which on his return to China he translated, in concert with a band of his disciples, into the language of his native country. When the hour of death was fast approaching, he commanded all his worldly goods to be distributed among the poor; he caused the votive statues to be fashioned; he required the brethren of his convent to recite the usual prayers. At last his friends are all invited to assemble round his couch and take a joyous leave of his 'impure and despicable body,' which, after having played its part, is lost to him for ever. 'I hope,' he adds, 'that all the merits I have gained by my good works may now accrue to the advantage of other people. My wish is to be born with them into the heaven of the *Touchitas* (the blessed), to be admitted into the family of *Mi-le* (Mâitréya), and to serve this Buddha of the future, who is full of tenderness and of affection. When my fate is to descend afresh into the world, and undergo another series of existences, I hope at every new birth to

do my duty towards the Buddha with unwearying zeal, and ultimately to arrive in turn at the supreme Intelligence.' He then gave utterance to his deep regrets on feeling that the world was fast receding from his grasp; but at the very moment of dissolution when his pupils asked him, 'Master, have you really obtained the right of being born into the assembly of *Mi-le?*' his quivering lips responded 'Yes;' and so he yielded up the ghost[1].

compared with the last hours of Bede.

A spectacle resembling this in many of the outward circumstances, yet presenting also many a deep and touching contrast, was beheld soon afterwards within the walls of a secluded convent in our own Northumbria. It was the death-scene of the Venerable Bede. He also was the brightest luminary of the sphere in which he moved; for though his creed may in some few particulars have been alloyed by elements of thought and feeling at variance with the genius of primitive Christianity, his heart was ever true in its allegiance to our heavenly Father, and he died receiving as the end of his faith the crown of glory that fadeth not away. The days and years of Bede, like those of Hiuan-Thsang, had been devoted mainly to the spread of sacred literature, and when his strength was failing and his peaceable career was gliding to its close, we see him in a crowded circle of affectionate pupils, eager to imbibe the treasures that continued to pour forth from his capacious memory. Among his brother-presbyters he also parted the small remnant of his worldly substance, 'giving with much love and joy what he had previously received from God.' The tears of

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 344 sq.

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the by-standers were at length beginning to flow fast; for each of them perceived that Bede, the master-spirit of their thriving confraternity, had girded up his loins to die; yet sorrow was in their case all transmuted into joy, when they remembered that the spirits of the just are in the hands of the Omnipotent, and Christ the risen Lord of dead as well as living. 'They rejoiced,' is the account of an eye-witness, 'when he said, "It is time that I returned to Him who made me, who created me, and formed me out of nothing. I have had a long life upon the earth; the merciful Judge has also been pleased to order for me a happy life. The time of my departure is at hand, for I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ." And with many such like remarks he passed the day until eventide. Then the boy, whom we have already mentioned, said to him, "Still one sentence, dear master, remains unwritten." He replied, "Write quickly." After a little while, the boy said, "Now the sentence is finished." He answered, "You have spoken the truth—it is indeed finished. Raise my head in your hands, for it pleases me much to recline opposite to that holy place of mine, on which I used to pray, so that, while resting there, I may call upon God my Father." And being placed upon the pavement of his cell, he said, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost"—and as soon as he had named the name of the Holy Spirit, he breathed out his own spirit, and so departed to the kingdom of heaven[1].'

[1] The most accurate version of this narrative of Cuthbert will be found in Mr Stevenson's 'Preface to Beda,' pp. xv. sq. Lond. 1853.

CHAPTER II.

Religions of America, particularly the Mexican.

'Darin besteht eben die Bedeutung der Amerikanischen Religionen, dass sie mehr als andere, wenigstens mehr als andere Religionen von Kulturvölkern, das primitive und unabgeschwächte Heidenthum darstellen.'

Vagueness of American traditions.

It is now established that the eastern promontories of the New World were sighted by the storm-tost Greenlander, and trodden by the sturdy foot of the adventurous Northman long before[1] the last 'discovery' of that continent in 1497. Yet little or no definite information resulted from such voyages beyond the fact that certain media really existed for connecting the barbarians of Labrador, of Nova Scotia and of Massachusetts, with the people on the coasts of Scandinavia, and the consequent possibility of transporting thither some vague knowledge of white men and some few germs of Christianity[2]. Nor do any of the frequent narratives sent home to Europe by the first 'Conquistadores' throw much light upon the primitive traditions of the various tribes whom they

[1] See the interesting revelations in Rafn's *Antiquitates Americanæ*, Hafniæ, 1845, and Humboldt's *Cosmos*, II. 234 sq. Sabine's ed. The first recorded view of the American coast was obtained in 986. In 1000, Leif actually landed with thirty-five companions on a point which he called Helluland, identified with Labrador. From thence one of the party penetrated further south to what they called Vinland (from the wild vines growing there).

[2] Some white men appear to have remained in America at an early period, and in 1121 we find a Greenland bishop making a voyage to Vinland: cf. Münter, *Kirchengesch. von Dänemark*, &c. I. 561. Leipzig, 1833.

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subdued. Intoxicated by their lust of gold, devoting all their wondrous energies to the extension and consolidation of their empire, many of them were deaf not only to the pleas put forward by the native in behalf of his hereditary freedom, but also to the war-songs and the legends that continued to give utterance to his baneful superstitions. Other Spaniards in a frenzy of fanaticism were instigated to destroy[1] the only archives, by the light of which we could have hoped to track with any certainty the course pursued in the migrations of the 'civilised' families of America; while in reference to the Indians proper, the historical materials then as now surviving are no better than a mass of wild hyperboles; they tell of 'nations creeping out of the ground—a world growing out of a tortoise's back—the globe reconstructed from the earth clutched in a muskrat's paw, after a deluge[2].' Hence the difficult nature of the problems which confronted the ethnologist when he proceeded by more scientific methods to determine the mutual relations of the tribes and peoples of America, to penetrate still further into mysteries connected with their past condition, and educe some elements of light and order from the midst of that far-spreading chaos, which had, in the judgment of the superficial writer, hopelessly enveloped the history of the New World.

[1] 'The strange, unknown characters inscribed on them [the picture manuscripts] excited suspicion. They were looked on as magic scrolls; and were regarded in the same light with the idols and temples, as the symbols of a pestilent superstition, that must be extirpated': Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, p. 32, Lond. 1854.

[2] See *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes*, ed. Schoolcraft (recently compiled for the Government of the United States), Part I. p. 13.

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Homogeneity of American tribes.

The first great generalisation thus obtained had reference to the physical characteristics of the native population. It was found that, on eliminating a subordinate class of 'singular and inexplicable diversities[1],' the people of that continent, in all their geographical distribution, from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn, may be described as homogeneous, or the scions of one parent stock. The squalid Esquimaux, at one extremity of the chain, the polished Aztec, or Peruvian, at the other; agriculturists, and hunters, and canoe-men; tribes frequenting the shores of the great northern lakes, or scattered in the dense savannahs of the South; the stunted Chayma, the athletic Caraib, and the half-clad native of the Land of Fire, exhibit the same general lineaments, and constitute together one distinct variety of the human species. They 'possess alike the long, lank, black hair, the brown or cinnamon-coloured skin, the heavy brow, the dull and sleepy eye, the full and compressed lips, and the salient and dilated nose[2].' But in the course of wide and patient investigations which have issued in this grand result, another class of facts were sometimes felt to wear a very different aspect and to point in very different directions. So far was the explorer of American antiquities from meeting with a common language, or one group of kindred dialects, that varieties of human speech were found to be almost innumerable; each narrow tract of country being occupied by

Linguistic difficulties.

[1] There is still some difference of opinion among ethnologists respecting the extent and value of these 'diversities'; see Prichard, v. 290 sq.

[2] Morton's *Crania Americana*, quoted with other testimonies to the same effect in Squier's *American Archæological Researches*, No. I. pp. 23, 24, New York, 1851.

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tribes continually at war with each other, esteeming every stranger an enemy, and possessing few, if any, of the ordinary means of intercommunication.

Peculiar characteristics of American languages.

Here again, however, science has contributed her timely aid in filling up the blanks of primitive history. It has been shewn, entirely to the satisfaction of all competent philologers, that if, as in the former case, we make a few exceptions, capable of being explained on the hypothesis of accidental or colonial intercourse with foreign countries, the discordant languages of America are all held together by common and peculiar principles of construction, pointing to a primitive centre, and acknowledging the plastic influence of one mother-tongue. These languages are neither monosyllabic, like the Chinese, the primitive Malay, and other kindred idioms; nor dissyllabic, like a second class of ancient languages related to the Hebrew; nor analytical, like the tongues of modern Europe, which are substituting, or have substituted, for the old inflections a vast number of auxiliary particles. The proper description of the American dialects, as spoken for the last three hundred and fifty years, is *polysynthetic*[1], meaning that their organisation is so flexible, so artificial, and so highly complex, as to make them far more capable

[1] The credit of working out this idea belongs to Mr du Ponceau: see Prichard, v. 305 sq., who has added (pp. 313 sq.) some judicious observations on the probable causes of the vast dissimilarity in the words themselves. This may be referred, partly to the isolation of the various tribes, partly to the wonderful richness of their first vocabulary, partly to the feverish activity of their imagination and rhetorical faculty, which are ever coining new expressions; but resemblance is perhaps most of all destroyed by certain current principles of truncation and agglutination, impelling the American Indians to cut off the beginning and the end of polysyllables almost without limit, and to form other words by merely aggregating a number of such fragments into new compounds.

than any other dialects of combining a large assortment of ideas and various shades of meaning into one polysyllabic term. In other words, however manifold those languages may be as to their vocabulary, their structure and grammatical forms are all peculiarly related,—so peculiarly, that traits of family-likeness and the same distinctive physiognomy are seen pervading the whole group.

Origin of the American people.

But harder questions in the mean time have been agitated by American archæologists, with reference to the ultimate affinities of the native population; and while one school are persuaded that nothing whatever has transpired which can be fairly thought to militate against received ideas of aboriginal unity; a second, in proportion it would seem to their belief in the specific oneness of the 'American race,' have manifested a desire to disconnect the Old and New Continents entirely. They assert not only that the measure of civilisation attained by some of the American tribes is altogether underived, but (which is a distinct and totally independent theory) that the race itself is strictly autochthonic, and is therefore a new *species* of human beings[1]. As writers of the last century were sometimes ready to contend that *every thing* American had been imported from the shores of the Old World, these champions of the autochthonic theory must needs assume an attitude no less defiant, and a phraseology no less emphatic: they

[1] Pott, who seems to be himself influenced more especially by philological reasons, has collected (in his *Die Ungleichheit menschlicher Rassen*, Lemgo, 1856, pp. 242 sq.) the main arguments of those who are led by the perplexing phenomena of the New World to deny the derivation of the human family from a single pair.

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affirm accordingly that *nothing* has been so derived.

Are they a distinct species?

Now difficult, or even, with our extant means, impossible as it may be to single out the parent stock, in which the fathers of the New World had their origin, I hold the multiplication of productive centres, both in this and other cases, to be absolutely unnecessary, and, in the present state of ethnological science, to be utterly unjustifiable[1]. If no ray of light whatever could be thrown upon the questions which concern the primitive population of America; if no analogy to their case had existed in the spread of the Malayo-Polynesian tribes across the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and the Pacific Ocean; if the speech of the Americans had absolutely no affinities with any other human dialects; if their traditions, meagre as these are, had hinted nothing of a distant home and of a perilous migration; if insoluble enigmas were presented by the physical structure of Americans, or if their moral powers and mental capabilities were such as to exclude them from a place in the great brotherhood of men; if, lastly, no resemblances were found, I will not say, in primary articles of belief, but in the memory of specific incidents and in those minor forms of human thought and culture which will hardly bear to be explained on the hypothesis of 'natural evolution,' we might then, perhaps, have cause to hesitate in our decision, or to treat the peopling of America as something more exceptional than had been hitherto supposed.

[1] See Part I. ch. II.

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Objections answered.

But no necessity whatever has been shewn for the adoption of such theories. There is literally nothing, say our ablest writers, either in the bodily structure or psychology of the American tribes to prove an independent origin, or even to beget suspicions touching a plurality of human 'races[1].' In the limits of the American family, and notwithstanding the mutual resemblances which it unquestionably offers, we can find varieties of human beings, passing, there as elsewhere, one into another by graduated shades of difference; while the Esquimaux, who are as genuine members of that family as the Aztecs or Algonquins, link it on by speech as well as by traditions, to the natives of the sister-continent. Again, if the diversities of language could be fairly cited as conclusive of the absolute distinctness of the whole American people, they would prove with equal force that every single tribe is also autochthonic. The loss of primitive vocables in one case would remain as wondrous and inexplicable as in the other. The development of any primitive speech into the finished and elaborate forms presented by the living dialects of America is antecedently not less improbable than the first deflection of the polysynthetic family from one original type of language. Neither is the want of correspondency between the speech of the Old and New Continent so absolutely universal as had once been represented. Without affecting to pronounce a judgment on the merits of particular controversies,—as, for instance, that relating to the Othomi of

[1] Prichard, v. 541.

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Central America, whose language[1] has been held to be monosyllabic and akin to the Chinese,—I may remark that writers adverse to the theory of unity are sometimes driven to admit the known existence of as many as one hundred and eighty-seven words[2], which are the common property of the Old World and the New. But more convincing proofs of some great exodus from Asia to America are furnished by the vague traditions of the early emigrants. The tide of population in the New Continent is always said to have been propagated from the west and north-west. If credit be conceded to the stories of the Mexicans and others, they all issued from that very region; in one case they had crossed the water, in a second they had marched along some frozen pathway. They were previously acquainted with white men; they were accustomed to the representations of animals familiar to Asiatics, but unheard of, during the historic period, in America itself[3]. The picture or mnemonic writing[4] of the Old World reappears in different latitudes of the New. The practice of erecting huge pyramidal temples, cor-

Positive proofs of foreign influences.

[1] Cf. Pott, as above, pp. 252 sq., and Ampère, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1853, Tome IV. pp. 93, 94.

[2] Squier, as above, p. 26. Of these words, it is remarked, 'one hundred and four coincide with words found in the languages of Asia and Australia, forty-three with those of Europe, and forty with those of Africa.'

[3] These and many other points are dwelt upon by Wuttke, whose chief conclusion is as follows (I. 346): 'Alle diese Erscheinungen lassen uns an der asiatischen Abstammung der halbgebildeten Völker von West-Amerika nicht mehr zweifeln. Die bestimmten bei den verschiedenen Indianerstämmen sich wiederholenden Sagen von einer Einwanderung aus Westen über ein Meer oder eine Strasse, die nachher zugefroren,—Sagen, welche mit den erwähnten sibirischen von einer Auswanderung nach Osten übereinstimmen [p. 157], verstärken das Gewicht der mexikanischen Überlieferung noch mehr.'

[4] See Part I. p. 67, n. 1.

responding not in general structure only, but also in minute and arbitrary details, has been common to the demi-civilised tribes alike of Asia and America[1]. Arguing therefore from coincidences such as these, which are in every case more likely to have been the fruit of some external intercourse than of mere accident or of spontaneous growth in disconnected regions, I incline to the opinion that the old inhabitants of America had either crossed by Behring's Strait, or else along the way of the Aleutian islands which in fact supply a bridge between the two continents. Such primitive colonists might be an early offshoot from the stock of nations which was rapidly propelled across the steppes of central Asia, and who, lapsing more and more completely into barbarism, had finally escaped through various channels into islands of the Eastern and Southern Seas. Regarded thus the primitive people of America belong to a great section of the human family which is entitled the 'Turanian:' they are ultimately one with the Malays; they are a part of that mighty stream of population which under the name of Tshud and Turk and Scythian was diffused throughout the whole of upper Asia, was pushed forward by the growing vigour of the Chinese empire, was displaced by the triumphant progress of the Aryans in the vast peninsula of Hindustan. Or it may be, that the

By what channel these influences were exerted.

[1] Squier, as above, p. 83. 'What striking analogies exist,' cries Humboldt (as there quoted), 'between the monuments of the old continents and those of the Toltecs, who, arriving on Mexican soil, built several of these colossal structures, truncated pyramids, divided by layers, like the temple of Belus at Babylon. Whence did they take the model of these edifices? Were they of the Mongol race? Did they descend from a common stock with the Chinese, the Hiongnu, and the Japanese?'

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peopling of America resulted from a long succession of such movements, and that ruder tribes were subsequently intermixed with others[1] more advanced in civilisation and more capable of gaining that ascendancy which some of them had finally enjoyed. Objections, I am quite aware, have been directed against both of these hypotheses, and in the present state of knowledge it may be impossible to give a satisfactory answer to every one of such objections. Yet on looking at the problem as a whole, I am persuaded that the vast preponderance of testimony is favourable to the idea of Asiatic immigration, not only as accounting for the presence of materials out of which the 'civilised' communities were framed, but also as affording the best clue to many a mystery connected with the barbarous tribes themselves.

Distinction respecting the religions of America.

As soon as we approach the subject of American religions, it is most essential on the very threshold that we realise the force of a distinction here indicated between the 'civilised' and savage populations who occupied the New World when it was first explored by Europeans. The former

[1] This is the conclusion of Mr Schoolcraft, who closes his careful summary of the ante-Columbian traditions (Part I. pp. 19 sq.) in the following passage (p. 26): 'Thus we have traditionary gleams of a foreign origin of the race of the North American Indians, from separate stocks of nations, extending at intervals from the Arctic Circle to the Valley of Mexico.....They point decidedly to a foreign, to an oriental, if not a Shemitic, origin. Such an origin has from the first been inferred. At whatever point the investigation has been made, the eastern hemisphere has been found to contain the physical and mental prototypes of the race. Language, mythology, religious dogmas,—the very style of architecture, and their calendar, as far as it is developed, point to that fruitful and central source of human dispersion and nationality.'

class comprise[1] the Mexicans and Peruvians, together with the intermediate families of Mayans, and Muyscas of Bogota, who, planted on that side of the continent which looks directly towards Asia, were each an independent centre of civilisation in the midst of wild and barbarous hordes[2]. The second class may be distributed into (1) the Red Indians of North America, (2) the Indians of the Great Antilles, (3) the Caraibs or Carribees, (4) the Indians on the Eastern coast of South America. These two varieties of men, though generally like each other in physical conformation, and though speaking similar and cognate tongues, were intellectually in almost opposite conditions. The half-civilised American had even worked his way above one group of tribes and nations on the Old Continent; he was superior to the Finn, who represented the best phase of culture in the 'Scythian' family; he took precedence also of the Mongol, who at nearly the same period flashed from time to time across the theatre of general history, and then relapsed into the darkness of his native steppes. The barbarous American was, on the contrary, as destitute of all the higher forms of culture as the wild man of New Zealand or Kaffraria: his delight was to retard the intellectual progress of his fellows, and intent on what is

Two classes:

how divergent.

[1] In this distribution, I follow Dr J. G. Müller, whose *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen* (Basel, 1855), though far from satisfactory in some respects, has the great merit of being well arranged.

[2] It should, however, be remembered that the area of North American civilisation had once been far more extensive than it was in the age of Columbus; as may be inferred from the ruins which are being constantly brought to light, for instance, in the valley of the Mississippi: *Ibid.* pp. 45 sq., Schoolcraft, Part II. pp. 84 sq.

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called 'a nameless principle of tribality,' to foster habits which could hardly fail to issue in the utter disintegration of society.

§ 1. *The wild Tribes of America.*

Uniformity of nature-religions in all continents.

My observations on this class of men will be restricted within very narrow limits, partly, because the members of it are seldom or never likely to provoke comparison with Christians, and partly because the leading principles of their religion are the same as will be found in tribes of every age and climate, so long as they continue standing on the same moral level. In the old 'Turanian' creed of China we observed how prominent was the place awarded, first, to spirit-worship,—understanding by that term not only adoration or deprecation of local genii and demons, but commemorative offerings made in honour of departed ancestors; and secondly, to worship of the powers or laws of nature, and especially the element of light itself as centred in the host of heaven. Now both these forms of primitive heathenism recur at every turn among the Indians of North and South America. Their religion, speaking generally, consists of two great factors; spirit-worship, which is found to be more deeply rooted in the higher latitudes, and element-worship, which appears to have exerted a peculiar witchery in countries lying nearer the equator. In America, however, as in China, the two phases of belief are seen existing side by side, and not unfrequently are made to touch and interpenetrate each other.

Excepting the manes of departed ancestors[1], which ought perhaps to constitute an independent class, the spirits worshipped by the heathen of America are not unfrequently embodied in specific forms or objects, corresponding to the *fetishes*[2] alike of Greenland, Africa, Australia, and Siberia. Some particles of true divinity are thus believed to tenant the thing worshipped, which accordingly ceases to be regarded as the beast or brute matter it really is, and rising far above the character of a type, or emblem, is identified completely with the thing it represents[3]. One object of this kind becomes *the* god, the patron-spirit of the fascinated savage: it he carries constantly about with him, or treasures as the glory and the safeguard of his wigwam; so that, notwithstanding the very partial exercise of the imagination and reflective faculty which seems to be implied in every form

Fetishism.

[1] Compare the following account of Mr Schoolcraft, Part I. pp. 38, 39, with the remarks already made in chap. I. pp. 32, 33 on the similar custom of the Chinese: 'The periodical offering of cakes, libations, flesh or viands at the grave to ancestors .....is seen to be an idea incorporated into the practice of the American, at least the Algonic Indians. These Indians, believing in the duality of the soul, and that the soul sensorial abides for a time with the body in the grave, requiring food for its ghostly existence and journeyings, deposit meats and other aliment, at and after the time of interment. *This custom is universal*, and was one of their earliest observed traits.' The same remark is applicable to the Caraibs and Brasilians: Müller, p. 73.

[2] The word 'Fetichism' which has now obtained general currency, as descriptive of one early stage in the religions of heathendom, is derived from the Portuguese *fetisso*, 'a magical charm' or 'spell.' It was adopted from thence by the Negroes of Western Africa: cf. the Chinese *joss* and the Portuguese *dios*.

[3] Müller, p. 52. The same writer says truly (p. 75): 'Das Thier, das als Fetisch verehrt wird, ist nicht Symbol dieser oder jener göttlichen Naturkraft, sondern überhaupt ein göttliches Wesen wie jedes andere.' Mr Theodore Parker is, therefore, in error when he talks of the visible object being in Fetishism a *type* of the Infinite Spirit: *Discourse*, pp. 32 sq. Lond, 1850.

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of spirit-worship, the worshipper is always under the necessity of localising the object of his special adoration and of bringing it directly under the cognisance of the senses. On the other hand, the more conspicuous and commanding objects of external nature, as the sun, the moon, the planets, are not worshipped barely as material and inanimate substances. The wild man of America, like other heathen, both of civilised and barbarous races, has been long accustomed to the thought that all the heavenly bodies are possessed of animation, and even gifted with some measure of intelligence. To each, accordingly, has been ascribed one independent, vitalising soul. The sun-god, for example, is the living sun itself, and worship is never paid to it symbolically, as though it were the representative of some invisible or absent spirit, but because it is an actual depository of the supersensuous, an embodiment of the Divine.

Worship of the heavenly bodies.

Primitive Pantheism.

The two main lines of thought exemplified in spirit-worship, and in deification of the elements and heavenly bodies, may have thus been gradually blended into one. The subtle spirit is corporealised; the higher forms of matter are each tenanted and consecrated by the energy of some appropriate spirit. If the term 'God' be chosen to express the aggregate of all such spirits, it may be affirmed with equal truth that ultimately God is every thing, and every thing is ultimately God. The wild man of America is in fact a worshipper of all above him and around him. As the skies, the woods, the waters are his books, they also form his oracles and his divinities. Pervaded by

some spiritual essence, every leaf that rustles in the forest, quite as much as the great orbs that move in silent majesty across the firmament, conveys to him a message from the unseen world. The threatening cloud, the genial shower, the lightning, thunder, and *aurora borealis*, flowers of every hue and animals of every shape and species are alike regarded as instinct with supernatural virtue, and as fitted to enkindle in the human heart the sentiments of awe or love, of adoration or of deprecation.

The American doctrine of a Great Spirit.

In systems where it is admitted by all writers that principles like these are ever active and predominant, we naturally fail in the attempt to vindicate a proper standing-ground for any doctrine bearing close resemblance to Christian theism. Passages exist, indeed, in which the wild man of America expresses a belief in some Great Spirit[1], manifesting itself not only as the root and basis of all being, but at one time in the light of a beneficent Creator, at a second as the sun-god, at a third as the great God of heaven, and not unfrequently in more appalling aspects as the god of battle and of death. At first the European missionaries[2], in their zeal to seize all possible points of

[1] Thus, Mr Schoolcraft (*passim*) thinks this doctrine 'at the base of their theology,' although he argues that in practice they were polytheists to a man. Mr Prescott (*Conquest of Peru*) begins his third chapter with a similar statement: 'It is a remarkable fact, that many, if not most, of the rude tribes inhabiting the vast American continent, however disfigured their creeds may have been in other respects by a childish superstition, had attained to the sublime conception of one Great Spirit, the Creator of the universe,' &c. He also adds, however, that these elevated ideas 'do not seem to have led to the practical consequences that might have been expected.'

[2] Müller, who adduces many proofs of this position (pp. 99 sq.), affirms: 'Diese Ansicht ist nicht

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contact with the old beliefs of those whom they were seeking to recover, had unconsciously diverged into the track of infidels, who represented the natural religion of the wild man as almost on a level with the highest truths of Christianity, and, after labouring to explain away his human sacrifices, anthropophagy and the like, waxed eloquent in praising the unrivalled purity and spirituality of his worship. In the present day, however, when inquiries of this kind are prosecuted in a far more critical temper, it is generally agreed that all approximations to monotheism observed among the tribes of the New World are little more than verbal. Their Great Spirit is at best the highest member of a group[1], the brightest inmate of a crowded pantheon; as the sun-god of their system, quickening, gladdening, fructifying; a personification of the mightiest of all natural energies, but not a personality distinct from nature, and controlling all things by his sovereign will. The greatest Spirit of the Indian is accordingly declared to be the offspring of an evil mother[2], subordinate to some inexorable Fate, the victim of some will-less and unchanging Principle by which his rule is ever liable to interruption and reverse. But, what is more observable, that Spirit is devoid of every thing which constitutes the glory of the God of revelation. In spite of all his grandeur, goodness, and ubiquity, he exercises no

bloss bei Englischen und Französischen Deisten und Populärphilosophen, sondern auch bei Reisenden und Missionären sehr verbreitet.'

[1] Cf. Wuttke, I. 91, 92, Müller, p. 102, pp. 114 sq.

[2] Müller, p. 149. This writer shews, in discussing the religion of the Caraibs, the identity of their supreme Mother with Fate and the Principle of evil (p. 230).

control upon the lives of individuals, nor the government of the world. 'There is no attempt by the hunter, priesthood, jugglers or powwows, which can be gathered from their oral traditions, to impute to the great merciful Spirit the attributes of justice, or to make man accountable to him, here and hereafter, for aberrations from virtue, good-will, truth, or any form of moral right[1].'

Their system really dualistic.

The passing illustrations thus afforded of the old American theology enable us to understand some other of its characteristic principles. With the idea of one inscrutable necessity ever present in the background, the more prominent features of the system were all rigorously *dualistic*[2].

Good divinities subordinate to the sun.

Minor gods, whose operation was regarded as beneficent, were ranked in one special series, with the sun-god as their glorious chief. In him, the great dispenser of all radiance and fertility, 'the being by whose light and heat all living creatures were generated and sustained,' the various tribes of the New World had uniformly recognised the highest pitch of excellence; and even where, transformed into a god of battle, he was worshipped under horrid and incongruous rites, or fed by human hecatombs[3], the sun-god never ceased to occupy the foremost rank among the good divinities. His titles were the 'father,' the 'sustainer,' the 'revivifier;' and to be at last translated to the

[1] Schoolcraft, I. 35.

[2] 'Everywhere our Indians have upheld this idea of a duality of gods, giving one good, and the other evil powers, with its ancient developments of subordinate polytheisms.' *Ibid.* III. 60. The same antagonism was even more strongly manifested among the Caraibs, and on the eastern coast of South America: Müller, pp. 260, 261.

[3] See Müller, pp. 141 sq., and below, on the human sacrifices offered to the great Mexican divinities.

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sun, or his attendant stars, was deemed the summit of felicity. On the other hand, the rude American was haunted by the thought of some coequal and coordinate array of hostile deities, who manifested their malignant nature by creating discord, sickness, death, and every possible form of evil. These were held in numerous cases to obey the leadership of the moon[1], which, owing to its changeful aspects, had become identical with the capricious evil-minded Spirit of American Indians. It especially, as in their creed the parent of misfortune, many of them were ever anxious to propitiate and disarm. In it is found the chief divinity of all the warlike races, more especially the Caraibs[2]; and everywhere the worship of the Indian was mainly occupied in deprecating powerful and malevolent spirits, demons, spectres, fiends, hobgoblins, whose errand was to poison human joys and aggravate the load of human wretchedness. If only the American could turn away their anger, and evade or disappoint their malice, he had realised the principal aim of his religion. Hence his constant dread of some unearthly apparition. Hence the meaning of his fetishes, his amulets, his charms, his exorcisms, his trembling and convulsive efforts to explore the secrets of the past or future, his wild cries, and frantic dances. Hence again the vast ascendancy obtained by seers and witches, payés, jossakeeds, and medicine-men, with other dark and nameless instruments of heathen sorcery.

Evil divinities subordinate to the moon.

Indian worship chiefly deprecative.

[1] Müller, p. 53, p. 170, p. 272.

[2] 'Während indessen anderswo gewöhnlich der Sonnendienst an der Spitze dieser höhern Naturverehrung steht, herrscht bei den Karaiben der Mond vor, ähnlich wie bei einzelnen nordischen Wilden und Grönländern,' *etc.* p. 218.

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Gloomy aspects of the Indian creed.

It is true the wild man of America was not entirely lost to his original destination. He dreamed of having once been master of some purer language, of a world divided from the present by some dire catastrophe, of service rendered by his ancestors to milder and more powerful chieftains[1]. Whether pushing his rude canoe across the waters, or chasing the buffalo amid the depths of his primeval forests, he would muse at times, as did the Aztec in his massive temples, on the advent of a gracious Spirit, condescending, under various shapes of man or animal, to battle with a legion of hideous monsters[2], who were said to have delighted most in the enslaving of the human species. Yet in spite of all such happy memories, and such vague presentiments of something higher and more satisfying, the wild tribes of America were commonly overwhelmed by gloom, anxiety, and terror. Their habitual 'notions of the spirit-world exceed all belief; and the Indian mind is thus made the victim of wild mystery, unending suspicion and paralysing fear.....Not to be in misery from these unnumbered hosts is to be blessed[3].' The whole religion, writes another high authority, 'is the religion of fear, which even among cultivated nations so predominates in the religious character of the heathen, that Lucretius (VI. 23) could describe Epicurus, the subverter of religion, as one who had also made an end of fear.

Bondage to fear.

[1] Schoolcraft, I. 16. The current story of some mighty deluge will be considered in discussing the religion of Mexico.

[2] The mythe or legend of Manabozho (Müller, pp. 126 sq., Schoolcraft, I. 317—319), as held among the Algonquins, has its parallel in many other tribes, most of all, perhaps, in the Mexican account of Quetzalcoatl.

[3] Schoolcraft, I. 16.

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Daring as the Indian is at other times, in facing visible dangers under the impulses of passion; firm and self-collected as he shews himself in bearing the most poignant tortures, he is notwithstanding always full of awe, of fear, of horror, at the thought of the invisible spirits who hold rule in nature; and as soon as he is once mastered by this feeling, he becomes the most timid creature upon earth[1].'

Doctrine of Manitoes.

We seldom see the darker traits of his religion so distinctly, as when brought together in the doctrine of *Manitoes*, which constitutes, it has been thought, the nearest approximation he has ever made to some originality of conception[2]. The word *Manito*, or Manedo, itself appears to signify 'a spirit:' hence the foremost member in the series of good divinities, the Great Spirit of the old American, is called in various tribes, Kitchi or Gezha Manito[3]; the name of the evil-minded Spirit being Matchi Manito. But, when employed without such epithets, this title is restricted to a minor emanation from the Great Spirit, which revealing itself in dreams to the excited fancy of the youthful Indian, and inviting him to seek its efficacy in some well-known bird or beast, or other object, is selected by him for his guardian deity, his friend in council, and his champion in the hour of peril. He believes, however, that other Manitoes may

[1] Müller, p. 83. The same conviction is repeated (p. 260) with reference to the Indians of *South* America: 'Man sieht, dass auch hier das Schauerliche und Furchterregende vorherrscht; Furcht ist ja das Grundgefühl, das durch das Vernehmen des Göttlichen auch bei diesen Naturmenschen erregt wird; die ganze Natur ist von einer Unzahl von Geistern erfüllt, die bei Tag und bei Nacht, beim Schlafen und beim Wachen, Welt und Seele mit Angst und Schauder erfüllen.'

[2] Schoolcraft, I. 34, 35.

[3] These names vary considerably: see a collection of them, Müller, pp. 104 sq.

prove far mightier and more terrible than his own, and consequently he is always full of apprehensions lest the influence granted preternaturally to his neighbour should issue in his own confusion. Add to this the prevalent idea, that Manitoes intrinsically evil are ever exercised in counterworking the beneficent, and that the actual administration of the world, abandoned to these great antagonistic powers, is the result of their interminable conflicts, and we cease to wonder at the moral perturbations which mark the character of the wild man. The fever of intense anxiety is never suffered to die out; until at length he either passes to another world, the simple reproduction of the present, or migrates into viler forms of animal existence, or, as in the case of the most highly favoured, is emancipated altogether from an earthly prison-house, and rescued from the malice of his demoniacal oppressors.

§ 2. *The demi-civilised Tribes, especially the Mexican.*

Ancient proofs of civilisation in Central America.

Although the barbarous population of the New World had always far outnumbered those who in the age preceding the discoveries of Columbus were struggling up the lower slopes of intellectual culture, it is rather in the creed of the minority, as indicating more of genius and reflection, that we seek for any definite resemblance to the facts and institutions of the Bible. There is reason to believe that some of these advances towards civilisation should be dated from a very high antiquity, especially in Yucatan and other parts of Central

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America, in which the Mayan family[1] had risen far above the intellectual level of their neighbours; but the Mexicans, who settled in a savage state upon their northern border, will at present be selected as the type of demi-civilised heathenism in the New World, partly because our fund of information respecting Mexico is comparatively copious and exact, and partly because an opportunity is there presented of watching a late phase in 'the religion of humanity' associated in the end with no small progress in political organisation and in many of the higher arts of life. That Mexicans had borrowed largely from the Mayan builders, who, already in the dawn of history, erected towns and palaces and pyramid-temples, rivalling those of Egypt in area and magnificence, is now conceded both by European and American archæologists. That numerous elements of faith and worship had been also gradually derived from the more cultivated Mayans, whom they conquered or displaced, as well as from the Toltecs[2], their own kinsmen and immediate predecessors on the soil of Anahuac, is a

Mexicans,

indebted to their predecessors.

[1] Prichard, v. 339 sq., Müller, pp. 452 sq., and Fancourt's *Hist. of Yucatan*, pp. 114 sq. Lond. 1854.

[2] It is in tracing the fortunes of the Toltecs that we first obtain a tolerably close approximation to historical exactness. The traditions of them handed down by the Aztecs, or Mexicans proper, inform us that they migrated from an unknown country called the primitive Tlapallan about 544 of the Christian era, and, advancing southwards, settled in Mexico about 648 (see Prichard, v. 328; Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, ch. I.) It is also worthy of notice that the epoch 544 corresponds with the ruin of the Tsin dynasty in China, which occasioned many violent commotions beyond the limits of the Chinese empire, and may have been instrumental in propelling a new race of colonists as far as North America (cf. Wuttke, I. 349). The Mexicans proper, issuing from the far north, did not reach the borders of Anahuac till the beginning of the 13th century, and only fixed their habitation near the principal lake in 1325. 'At the beginning of the sixteenth century, just before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Aztec dominion

statement likely to receive continuous illustration from researches of the present day. But much as Mexico might profit by the early dissemination of intelligence and the creations of artistic skill upon the confines of her empire, it is certain that when studied by the Spanish conquerors, the various factors in her social and religious life had all been moulded into one harmonious system: veils of allegory, woven partly if not altogether by her own imagination, were thrown over many a wild tradition of her simple ancestors; her creed, her laws, her ritual, and administrative principles, had all assumed a very definite and distinctive character. The Aztec, in his general policy, became the Roman of the New World; and, after crushing and absorbing minor states, in virtue of his martial prowess and fanaticism, had succeeded in building up an absolute monarchy upon the basis of a terrible superstition, which reminds us, in its dark and sanguinary spirit, of the Siva-ism of Hindustan, and of the Baal or the Moloch-worship of western Asia.

General character of Mexican influence.

On proceeding to discuss the central tenets of the ancient Mexicans we are confronted by a question which deserves to rank the foremost in this species of investigation—'What were their ideas respecting a Supreme Intelligence, the one, true, living God?' In Mexico, as in most heathen countries, very different answers have been given to such inquiry; some writers declaring that the Mexicans, in spite of their two hundred objects of

Mexican monotheism.

reached across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and under the bold and bloody Ahuitzotl, its arms had been carried far over the limits already noticed as defining its permanent territory, unto the farthest corners of Guatemala and Nicaragua.'

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worship, were ultimately and in truth monotheists; while others, who regard the term monotheism as importing no less than Christian theism, have repudiated the interpretations put on Mexican phraseology, and ranked the ancient Aztec with the nature-worshippers of other parts of heathendom. It is worthy of notice that the Mexican name for god[1] is *teo-tl*, which, on separating the termination from the root, approaches nearly to θεός, *déva*, *deus*, *tius*, and other kindred forms, as well as to the *tao*[2] of China and the *tua*[3] of the South-sea islanders. It is deserving also of consideration that the term *teo-tl* was not inherited from the Toltecs, and was not imported into the land of Anahuac by the Mexicans themselves, but gradually adopted from the aboriginal population skirting them upon the southern frontier of their new dominions[4]. If it should eventually be established that the Mayan race who occupied this frontier were an Asiatic colony, forming the centre and the nucleus of American civilisation, the presence of a word like *teo-tl* will undoubtedly assume a higher importance than has hitherto belonged to it. But

The name Teo-tl.

[1] This word was accordingly employed by the early missionaries as the equivalent of *Dios*, not, however, without exciting disputes like those already noticed in reference to the Chinese *Shin* and *Shang-te*.

[2] See above, p. 62.

[3] Russell's *Polynesia*, p. 68, Lond. 1852. The fullest form of this Polynesian word is, however, not *tua*, but *atua*, the *a* being, it would seem, a component part of the title. (Shortland's *Traditions*, &c. *of the New Zealanders*, p. 61, Lond. 1854). Other persons, on similar grounds, have maintained the original identity of *Votan*, the serpent-god of the Mayans, with the *Odin* and *Woden* of Teutonic heathenism, and even with the *Buddha* of eastern Asia. But all such attempts at identification are merely fanciful, or at the best exceedingly precarious.

[4] Müller, p. 472. In Nicaragua, which received the names of its divinities neither from the Toltecs nor the Aztecs, the word *Teot* (pl. *Teotes*) was in common use, and was applied equally to the superior gods and to the Spaniards.

until historical media have been fully ascertained, it is presumptuous to advance a theory on the strength of merely verbal resemblances, which in some other cases can be shewn to have been altogether accidental.

Traces of a Supreme Spirit.

The word *teo-tl* was, however, used with epithets and adjuncts that forbid us to dispute the grandeur of the object it was meant to designate. The Mexicans beheld in him the being[1] 'by whom we live,' 'omnipresent, that knoweth all thoughts and giveth all gifts,' 'without whom man is as nothing,' 'invisible, incorporeal, one God, of perfect perfection and purity,' 'under whose wings we find repose and a sure defence.' This Being also had been worshipped by some elevated spirits, without image, sacrifice, or temple. He was called the 'Cause of causes,' and the 'Father of all things.' He was reverenced as the parent and productive principle in nature; he was actually identified with the sun-god, which on this account was designated *the* Teo-tl. In proportion also as the Aztecs had invested the chief powers and spirits of their ruder ancestors with human shapes and attributes, the reigning tendency to anthropomorphism might have led them to ascribe a human will and personality to the supreme Spirit. On the other hand, it is more probable that this only God of central America was a conception far too vast and glorious for the ordinary intellect. To such he was a vague, impersonal abstraction: he was never worshipped by the many[2]; no attempt was made

[1] Prescott, p. 19, Lond. 1854.

[2] 'The idea of unity—of a being, with whom volition is action, who has no need of inferior ministers to execute his purposes—was too simple, or too vast, for their understandings;

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to circulate a knowledge either of his being or his character; and practically the administration of the world was not referred to Him, but to inferior spirits, good and evil, ruling each in his own single province, and presiding over this or that peculiar energy of physical creation. In effect, the only difference to be traced between the popular theology of wild and demi-civilised Americans, is that which we have traced already in describing the A'ryan of the Véda and the A'ryan of the second, or 'heroic,' period of Hindu history and religion. All the beings worshipped in the former case are spirits, demons, genii, with no definite shape in the imagination of the worshipper, haunting every form of nature, animate and inanimate; while in the second stage of natural religion, the divinities are far more generally humanised, assuming forms in which, amid a number of grotesque embellishments, the features of humanity are ever struggling to obtain expression and predominance. The amulets and fetishes of the American Indians are seldom, it is true, abandoned altogether, but are moulded into human effigies minute in form[1] and occupying the subordinate rank of *lares* and *penates*. The sacred corner of the wigwam, where the ancient fetish was reposited, or the sacred mound on which the wild man, writhing under some calamity, offered his best victim to the sun-god, has been superseded by a group of splendid temples ('houses of God,' or *teo-calli*), crowning a gigantic pyramid, and

Actual development of religion among the demi-civilised tribes.

and they sought relief, as usual, in the plurality of deities, who presided over the elements, the changes of the seasons, and the various occupations of man.' Prescott, *Ibid.*; cf. Müller, p. 474.

[1] Müller, p. 571. They are called the 'little ones' (*tepitoton*).

glittering with the costliest decorations. Seers and medicine-men have given place to regular priests and priestesses, the fountains of all popular education; the frantic shrieks of former generations have been softened into measured chants, their lawless rites into a pompous and elaborate liturgy; while holidays, originally restricted for the most part to the annual commemoration of departed ancestors, have multiplied so fast that 'every week, nay almost every day, is set down in their calendar for some appropriate celebration[1].'

Tezcatlipoca;

Standing at the head of thirteen[2] chief divinities, whom ancient Mexico has learned to worship, either jointly or in rotation, is Tezcatlipoca, whose rank appears to be 'inferior only to that of the Supreme Being.' Several writers who have earnestly endeavoured to make out affinities between the Old Testament religion and the creed of Mexico, and by this process to connect the Aztec tribes with the Semitic family of western Asia, go so far as to recognise the One God of the ancient Hebrews in Tezcatlipoca; and in aid of their conjectures they adduce a long array of epithets, investing him with every species of divine perfection. According to this view he was represented as the 'merciful and long-suffering,' and yet 'the stirrer-up of strife,' a god of vengeance and of battles; the 'Creator of all things,' and the 'Giver of life,' and yet requiring the blood of

attributes ascribed to him.

[1] Prescott, p. 24.

[2] The special number *thirteen*, in reference to the greater gods of Mexico, appears to be connected either with a monthly division of the calendar (cf. Müller, p. 94), or else with the very peculiar cycles of the Mexicans, which included fifty-two years (13 being a quarter), years of eighteen months, months of twenty days, half decades, and half lunations of thirteen days: see Prichard, v. 353, 355.

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sacrifice to flow for ever on his altars; pardoning the guilty only in consideration of the blood of the innocent; supreme and unapproachable, and yet enlisting numerous fellow-workers in the government of the universe. He was 'the Holder of all things in his hand,' 'the Giver of inspiration, who laughs at human wisdom;' 'the Trier and Prover of hearts, who made man in his own likeness,' 'the Acceptor of vows,' 'the Forgiver,' 'the Enjoiner of charity[1].' But the force of such expressions is materially abated when we view them in relation to others of no less authority. These latter seem to have connected, if not absolutely identified, Tezcatlipoca with the ancient sun-god of the New World. In the remarkable address, for instance, of the Mexican high-priest, the language runs as follows: 'We entreat that those who die in war may be graciously received by thee, our Father, the Sun, and our Mother, the Earth, for thou alone reignest[2];' and in a subsequent passage, the place of happiness, reserved by him for warriors slain in battle, is declared to be the sun itself. The name Tezcatlipoca, being interpreted, is the 'Shining Mirror;' on the monuments and in the paintings he is often represented as encircled by the disc of the sun[3]. His proper home is in the heavens[4]; from thence he came, descending on a spider's web, to persecute Quetzalcoatl, the

Different characteristics.

[1] These and other like epithets are collected and expounded in Lord Kingsborough's *Antiq. of Mexico*, IX. 179, who concludes his summary by remarking, that 'all the attributes and powers which were assigned to Jehovah by the Hebrews, were also bestowed upon Tezcatlipoca by the Mexicans.'

[2] Squier's *American Archæological Researches*, p. 162, New York, 1851; Müller, p. 620. This prayer contemplates him chiefly in his character of 'god of death, and of the dead.'

[3] Squier, p. 163.

[4] See Müller, p. 614.

benignant deity of the Toltecs; and in strict accordance with such representation, his choicest influence seems restricted to the world of the invisible; his face is covered with a mask; he is declared to be impalpable as 'night and air;' he has the power of granting immortality, and reigns supreme in all the regions of the dead.

Explanation of these various titles.

Upon the whole, that view seems preferable which makes Tezcatlipoca the deified impersonation of the generative powers of nature. As such he was united to the primitive goddess and first woman of the Mexicans, Cihuacohuatl, the 'female serpent[1].' As such his highest type and aptest emblem was the sun; as such he was occasionally entitled Tonacateucli ('embodied lord sun[2]'). As such, he bore the semblance of a handsome man, endowed with inexhaustible vigour, and rejoicing in the periodic renewal of his youth. As such, the costliest sacrifice of all was offered annually in his temple, during the arid month of May[3], when vegetable nature seemed expiring, and when fears began to be expressed for the well-being of the harvest. Then it was that pontiffs singled out

[1] Much as Mr Squier may ridicule 'the error of the bigots,' who discovered an allusion to Eve and the Tempter of our first parents in the representation of the Great Mother, Cihuacohuatl, always giving birth to twins, 'bequeathing the sufferings of childbirth to women, as the tribute of death,' and uniformly accompanied by a snake, or feather-headed serpent,—I would suggest that there is in such resemblances abundant matter for grave philosophising. 'In all this,' writes Mr Prescott,' we see much to remind us of the mother of the human family, the Eve of the Hebrew and Syrian nations' (p. 464). Cf. Wuttke, I. 263, Lüken, *Traditionen*, &c., pp. 121, 122, the latter of whom declares, after comparing the legend with others: 'Auf die merkwürdige Uebereinstimmung der Sage in so vielen Theilen mit der Bibel brauche ich den aufmerksamen Leser wohl nicht hinzuweisen.'

[2] Squier, p. 161. This etymology is not, however, absolutely certain.

[3] Cf. Müller, p. 618, Prescott, pp. 24, 25.

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one human being, in the spring of life, and of unblemished beauty, to personate, and suffer for and with, the highest member of their pantheon. When the day of this great sacrifice arrived, and the career of mirth and revelry assigned to the unhappy victim was completed, his heart, still palpitating under the murderous knife, was lifted up towards the sun and cast before the image of Tezcatlipoca, while the crowd below were bending breathless in the act of adoration.

If ever this divinity could justly claim to be compared with the all-holy God of revelation, he had forfeited his primal glory and descended altogether to the heathen level, when Mexico was first explored by Europeans, and her baneful idols put to flight by the advance of Christianity.

Huitzilopochtli;

But Tezcatlipoca, though appearing to receive unbounded worship from the later Mexicans, was not their national divinity; recourse was never had to him as to the oracle, the leader, and the special patron of the Aztec tribes. That post from ages out of memory had been allotted to the still more terrible Huitzilopochtli[1],—a name compounded, it is said, of two words, importing 'humming-bird,' and 'left,' and illustrated by the fact that his gigantic image always bore some feathers of the humming-bird on the left foot. The reason of this etymology is found in certain peculiarities of

meaning of the title.

[1] From *Huitzilin*, 'a humming-bird,' and *opochtli*, 'on the left hand:' cf. Müller, pp. 591, 592. He is also of opinion that in earlier ages before the growth of anthropomorphism, this same divinity was called *Huitziton*, 'a little humming-bird,' and worshipped under that simple form, as a god of the air and firmament (p. 596). Prichard seems to prefer a different etymology, treating Huitzilopochtli as an historical personage (Huitzitoc), raised after his death to the 'left hand' of the god Tezcatlipoca (v. 365).

the bird in question; its rich and brilliant plumage serving to dazzle the imagination of the Aztecs, while its frantic courage, as compared with its minute proportions, rendered it a favourite symbol of their own warlike, daring and indomitable temper. Accordingly, whatever may have been the primary idea suggested by the name Huitzilopochtli, or whatever may turn out to be the true interpretation of the marvellous story of his birth[1], it is indisputable that he grew ere long into the Śiva and the Mars of Central America. Another of his titles (Mexitli) had been transferred in early times to Mexico itself; and one of the first structures raised by Aztec builders on the table-land of Anahuac was the sanctuary of this, their guardian deity. His image was of a colossal bulk, erected on a blue stone, quadrangular in form, and with a snake, or serpent, issuing from each corner: the chains or collars about the idol's neck were ten human hearts, all made of gold; his girdle also consisted of a great golden serpent. Some at least appear to have regarded this ferocious war-god as the brother of Tezcatlipoca[2]; the largest temple of the Mexican metropolis was their common property; and in the costly and grotesque embellishments of both we always find the symbol of the mystic serpent more or less conspicuous.

Symbolical representations.

[1] The story is as follows: 'The mother of Huitzilopochtli was a priestess of Tezcatlipoca (a cleanser of the temple, says Gama), named Coatlicue. She was extremely devoted to the gods, and one day, when walking in the temple, she beheld descending in the air a ball, made of variously coloured feathers. She placed it in her girdle, became at once pregnant, and afterwards was delivered of Mexitli, or Huitzilopochtli, full armed, with a spear in one hand, a shield in the other, and a crest of green feathers on his head:' Squier, p. 196, Müller, pp. 601, 608.

[2] Müller, p. 615.

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Various meanings of the serpent-symbol.

There is ample reason for believing that ideas embodied in this representation were substantially the same in Europe, Asia, Africa and America[1]. Unable though we are to specify that one interpretation of the Ophite symbol which explains and harmonises all the rest, it is remarkable that many different views had coexisted in the same locality. The serpent was at one time treated merely as a type of primitive matter; at a second, it became the image of superior knowledge, cunning and sagacity. The periodic casting of its skin suggested the adoption of this reptile as an emblem of returning life, of spring-tide, of fertility, of rejuvenescence; and, regarded in the same peculiar aspect, the 'great century' of the Aztec tribes was represented as encircled by a serpent grasping its own tail: while other facts appear to indicate no less distinctly that in both the Old World and the New, the serpent was employed to symbolise the highest forms of being, as the sun-god, the great mother of the human family, and even the First Principle of all things[2].

The serpent an image of evil.

But though serpents were for reasons of this kind exalted into objects of religious worship, and venerated both in heathen countries and by various sects of Christian misbelievers as the primary source of intellectual illumination, it is also true that many primitive nations looked upon those

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 484 sq., 611 sq., and authorities cited in Part II. pp. 139 sq.

[2] This is the view adopted by the rationalistic Mr Squier, one of the most recent inquirers, in his *Serpent Symbol* (American Archæol. Researches, Part I.). He concludes (p. 243): 'Whether we accept the scriptural tradition of "the fall" in a literal sense, or as an allegory referring to man's departure from the original religion, under the seductions of an unholy superstition, of which the serpent was the emblem,—in either case the antiquity of the symbol is equally established.'

reptiles with religious awe and horror, recognising in them a personification of the Evil Principle, or emblems of malignant energies, in both the physical and moral world[1]. The victory gained by Krishṇa in his arduous struggle with Kálíya was held to have been frequently repeated in the wilder tribes of North America,—for instance, where the arrow of the philanthropic Manabozho had been guided to the heart of the Great Serpent, Meshekenabek, at the same time striking terror into an enormous brood of demons by which he was attended; and in Mexican paintings a huge serpent is sometimes exhibited in the act of being cut in pieces by the great divinity, Tezcatlipoca.

Terrible aspect of Aztec worship.

If I mistake not, the predominant idea connected with the serpent-symbol, in the worship more especially paid by Aztecs to their national divinity, was the idea of a terrific and destructive agent. This at least is certain, that the modern world is unacquainted with a system of religious thought whose whole complexion was so dark, so ghastly, so funereal. Everywhere it seemed to breathe of suffering and of death. The numerous altars of Huitzilopochtli reeked continually with the blood of human hecatombs[2], and that in cities where, amid some cheering gleams of moral sensibility, the Conquerors found no lack of goodly structures and of graceful ornaments, to indicate the progress made by the ferocious Aztec in the arts of social life. These desperate efforts to secure the favour of the gods by offering human victims

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 227, 244.

[2] Prescott, p. 19. Southey is also quite correct when he speaks of Mexican temples

> 'Whose black and putrid walls were
> scaled with blood.'

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Human sacrifices.

were indeed by no means limited to ancient Mexico; for all the wild tribes of America[1] had been wont from ages immemorial to sacrifice both children of their own and prisoners taken in their savage conflicts with some neighbouring people. Acting also on the rude belief, that such oblations would conduce to gratify the animal wants of their divinity, as well as to appease his wrath, they had contracted the vile habit of feasting on the remnant of these human sacrifices, and at other times proceeded to indulge in the most brutish forms of cannibalism. But when the Aztec rule eventually prevailed in every part of Anahuac, the sacrificing of all foreign enemies became a still more solemn duty. We are told that 'the amount of victims immolated on its accursed altars would stagger the faith of the least scrupulous believer[2];' while cannibalism, that dark accompaniment of human sacrifice in almost every country, was in Mexico peculiarly rife, and from the partial efforts to disguise it, had become peculiarly revolting[3].

Effect on the character of the people.

The character of the national god, to whom each Mexican had solemnly devoted all his strength, reflected, and in turn contributed to fix, the moral characteristics of the nation. Their ruling spirit was severe and sanguinary. Their familiarity with blood begat in them a brutal thirst for carnage. The great drum, composed of serpent-skins, was

[1] Müller, pp. 142 sq.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 502. The numbers vary considerably, and some accounts are doubtless much exaggerated (pp. 637, 638); but there is every reason to believe that not fewer than 2500 human beings were offered annually in the Aztec dominions. As many as 136,000 human skulls were found by the companions of Cortés within the precincts of the temple of Huitzilopochtli (Prichard, v. 365; Prescott, p. 26).

[3] Prescott, pp. 27, 28, 49; Müller, pp. 628 sq.

ever and anon emitting its disastrous challenge from the temples of Huitzilopochtli, and so calling men to arms. Their very wars were undertaken not so much from pride of conquest as in order to bring home fresh victims for the solemn festivals; and imitation of their bloody rites was always rigorously demanded as an indispensable condition of their friendship and alliance. CHAP. II.

Alleged resemblance to Hebraism.

Of minor points connected with the worship of Huitzilopochtli one appears to be deserving of especial notice. It is recorded how in all the long migrations of the Aztec tribes, four priests had been accustomed to bear aloft a wooden image of this great divinity[1]; the vehicle on which it rested being called the 'chair of god,' and serving like the sacred chest of other ancient nations to remind them of his special favour and his present personality. Some writers have moreover dwelt on these arrangements as supplying what they deem a close resemblance to the sacred chest, or ark, of Israel, which was carried by the Levites on their shoulders through the wilderness and even to the field of battle. But the fancied parallelism, like many others of the same description, will be found to vanish on a close analysis. Apart from contradictions which are everywhere discernible in the religious dogmas of the Hebrew and the Aztec, it is obvious that the purpose of the two sacred vehicles in question, and consequently all the main ideas thereby suggested to the people, were completely different[2]. The 'ark of the covenant' had always been the centre and palladium of the

Ark of the covenant.

[1] Müller, p. 594; Winer; *Realwörterbuch*, under 'Bundeslade.'

[2] Bähr, *Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*, I. 399—407.

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Hebrew system, not because it bore within it or without it a material representation of the Unapproachable and only God, or was contributing in any way to bring Him more directly under the cognizance of the senses, but because it was ordained at first as the repository of His holy Law. Its prominent position ever intimated to the Hebrew that the covenant in virtue of which he stood so very near to God was ultimately and entirely moral; that the term of his election depended altogether on his keeping of the commandments; that his mission to the world at large was to assert the unity and vindicate the holiness of God against the mass of errors and corruptions under which those precious truths were ever liable to be lost.

Had the Mexicans a sacred triad?

I am unable to discover any proof that Aztecs had arrived at the conception of a sacred trinity, or triad; though attempts have not been wanting[1] to establish such a theory in Mexico as well as in most other parts of ancient heathendom. The object commonly chosen to fill up the third place, thus uniting on a level with Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli, is the water-god of Central America, entitled Tlaloc[2]. In accordance with this theory,

[1] *e. g.* in Lord Kingsborough's *Antiq. of Mexico*, VI. 410 sq., where Acosta declares that 'Satan, in order to increase the majesty of his own worship, has wished, by cunningly introducing the doctrine of the Holy Trinity among the Indians, to abuse it' (p. 411).

[2] Müller, pp. 500 sq. Children were among the victims offered at his altar; and it is worthy of remark that they were immolated during the dry season, in order, if possible, to draw down blessings from the angry water-god. His wife, or female counterpart, was called Chalchiucueje, and to her, the water-goddess, all infants immediately after birth were brought for purification; the rite then practised bearing some vague resemblance to Christian baptism. (*Ibid.* pp. 503, 652.) But, as Mr Prescott well remarks, with reference both to this and many more affinities, the first

he has been converted into the Preserver, while the gods already noticed were believed to act respectively as the Creator and Destroyer. The truth appears to be, that if the number *three* must be completed, the divinity whose character and influence best entitle him to rank with the chief tenants of the Aztec pantheon is Quetzalcoatl.

Quetzalcoatl.

As the story of this god is in itself remarkable, and may be found hereafter to involve a series of important questions, bearing more or less directly on our general subject, I propose to give the chief particulars of it somewhat more in detail. Whether we regard the whole as purely mythical, or as belonging rather to the family of historic legends, it is probable that when the Toltecs entered Mexico[1] in the seventh century of the Christian era, Quetzalcoatl was enthroned already as their patron deity. From them it was that all the knowledge of him which is traceable in Anahuac had passed over to the Aztec tribes by whom they were succeeded. The current version of the story is as follows:

Quetzalcoatl (or the 'Feathered Serpent') had been destined to become the high-priest of Tula, the metropolis founded by the Toltecs on their immigration into Mexico. His birth, some writers have asserted, was miraculous[2]; and in proportion

race of missionaries 'fastened their eyes exclusively on the points of resemblance,' taking small account of other and essential contrarieties. 'In their amazement they not only magnified what they saw, but were perpetually cheated by the illusions of their own heated imaginations. In this they were admirably assisted by their Mexican converts, proud to establish—and half believing it themselves—a correspondence between their own faith and that of their conquerors' (p. 465).

[1] See above, p. 134, n. 2.

[2] This view is strongly espoused by Mr Squier, but I confess myself unable to verify some of his statements

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as he ripened into manhood it was obvious in how many points he differed from the multitude by whom he was surrounded. His complexion was not red, but fair, his eyes large, his forehead open, his beard thick and flowing. Raised ere long to the position which had been allotted to him by the gods, Quetzalcoatl underwent a course of voluntary penance[1]; substituting, it is said, for human sacrifices of the olden times the drawing forth of blood from his own body. He then proceeded, with the help of Huemac[2], the temporal prince of Tula, to instruct and civilise the people round about him. He compiled an equitable code of laws; he intro-

His civilising labours.

(pp. 185 sq.). His description of the birth of Quetzalcoatl is as follows: 'The god of the Milky Way, in other words, of Heaven, the principal deity of the Aztec pantheon, and the Great Father of gods and men, sent a message to a virgin of Tulan [Tula], telling her that it was the will of the gods that she should conceive a son, which she did without knowing any man' (cf. above, p. 57, n. 2). According to Mr Squier, Quetzalcoatl was an intermediate demigod, or rather a reputed incarnation of the highest god, Tezcatlipoca, and was thus analogous (he thinks) to Buddha, Zoroaster, Osiris, Taut in Phœnicia, Hermes or Cadmus in Greece, Romulus in Rome, Odin in Scandinavia, Votan in Guatemala, Bochica among the Muyscas, &c. But how is such a theory to be reconciled with facts which Mr Squier, in spite of all his archæological erudition, appears to have completely overlooked? For instance, how would he explain the deadly feud between Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl, which led to the ejection of the latter and the absolute ruin of the principality?

[1] See Kingsborough's *Antiq. of Mexico*, VI. 177, where these penances are regarded as a species of 'self-sacrifice' (cf. Southey's *Madoc*, Part II. No. X.). Müller, on the other hand, maintains (p. 582) that the self-chastisements of Quetzalcoatl were not *penances*, properly so called,—arising neither from a consciousness of guilt nor from a mystic wish to extricate himself entirely from the fetters of the body,—but were partial oblations of human blood intended as substitutes for the human sacrifices of earlier times. The same writer has justly remarked (pp. 582, 590) that when the worship of Quetzalcoatl was adopted by the Aztecs, they forgot his own strong abhorrence of human sacrifices and offered such to him as well as to the other gods.

[2] Müller, p. 587, who tries to make out that Huemac and Quetzalcoatl are really the same person, or at least are different names applied to the same personification in different stages of the mythe.

duced a milder and a purer ritual; he arranged the calendar; he set his face against all forms of violence and bloodshed; he encouraged arts of peace, as agriculture, metallurgy, and the like. Beneath his genial influences, the Toltecs rose at once into a thriving principality. It was the golden age of Anahuac, when the corn sprang up with such luxuriance that one ear became a burden for a man; when cotton grew of all colours so as to supersede the art of dyeing; and when other products of the soil were so abundant that the life of the community might be described as one perpetual feast. The palaces of Quetzalcoatl were constructed of gold, of silver, and of precious stones; the air was laden with rich perfumes, while the birds in brilliant plumage gladdened every heart with their enchanting music.

How defeated.

But the reign of order and prosperity was not of long duration. The god Tezcatlipoca cast an envious eye upon this earthly paradise; and calling to his aid the powers of magic undertook in various garbs to mar and ruin the great work of Toltec civilisation. He seduced the daughter of king Huemac; from which event was dated the decline of moral purity and the diffusion of a lax and revolutionary spirit. The high-priest himself ere long succumbed beneath the same malignant opposition. He was tempted to purchase immortality by drinking a renowned elixir which the chief divinity presented to him in the guise of an old man; but no sooner was the cup exhausted than Quetzalcoatl felt himself impelled to quit the scene of all his former labours and to visit Old Tlapallan, the great cradle of the Toltec race. Upon the eve of his

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departure he destroyed the costly palaces; the fruit-trees were all smitten with a curse of barrenness; the singing-birds were ordered to accompany him and entertain him on the journey. His path, of which the general tendency was eastward, brought him after some deflections to Cholula, where halting for a term of years he was permitted once again to carry out his great reformatory project, and even to diffuse a knowledge of his principles in countries lying farther to the south[1]. It was in Cholula that some of his enthusiastic followers first proceeded to invest him with divine prerogatives. A temple was there dedicated in his honour, and the ruins, bearing witness to its primitive grandeur, are still classed among the noblest monuments of Mexican heathenism. The final flight or disappearance of Quetzalcoatl is narrated differently in different versions of the story. All, however, represent it as both sudden and mysterious. The received account is, that on his last endeavour to reach Tlapallan he descended to the shores of the Mexican gulf; and as he entered the unearthly bark, composed of serpent-skins, that was to carry him across the ocean, he consoled his followers with the promise that he would eventually return among them and establish his benignant rule in every part of Anahuac. A belief in this return[2] was lingering in the heart of many a Mexican as late as the arri-

His second attempt:

his disappearance.

his expected return.

[1] 'Seine Herrschaft dehnte sich aber hier sehr aus, von Cholula aus sandte er Kolonien nach Huaxayacac, Tabasco und Campèche, später rühmte sich der Adel in Yucatan von ihm abzustammen, und *in der neuesten Zeit fand man dort noch Leute seines Namens*, wie in Chiapas Nachkommen Votans:' *Ibid.* p. 579.

[2] On these and other strange prognostics of the coming of the Spaniards, see Prescott, pp. 104, 105, and Fancourt's *History of Yucatan*, pp. 57—59.

val of the Spaniards. Cortés was himself identified at first with the expected deity; his white and bearded followers were esteemed the progeny of Quetzalcoatl, or revered as 'children of the sun;' and the locality from which they sprang was still believed to be none other than the fabled region of Tlapallan.

Is this story a mythe or a legend?

Now it is obvious that a narrative like this may be interpreted from very different points of view. We may consider it, for instance, as a genuine mythe,—embodying, under allegorical forms, the rude conceptions that prevailed respecting God and nature at some early period in the annals of mankind; or, secondly, it may be taken as a legend, more or less historic in its subject-matter, setting forth in brilliant colours the achievements of some true philanthropist, whom love and gratitude at length exalted to a place among the gods. According to one method of interpretation[1], the Toltec tribes, long after they emerged from barbarism, had formed the habit of ascribing all their progress as a nation to the work of some ideal hero, whom they designated Quetzalcoatl. He was thus in their eyes a personification of the whole community: its qualities had been transferred to him: whatever it had done was said to have been done by him. For instance, as the principal seats of Toltec civilisation were Tula and Cholula, these were made the theatre on which he acted, and from which his principles had been

Was Quetzalcoatl an ideal hero?

[1] This is Müller's theory, who remarks (p. 580): 'Eine genauere Ansicht und Kritik dieser Erzählung, die sich auf die Analogie mythologischer Gesetze gründet, zeigt uns zunächst, dass Quetzalcoatl *die euhemerisirte Idee des Toltekischen Kulturvolks in ihrer religiösen Fassung ist.*'

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transmitted to adjacent districts. As the Toltec tribes all vanished, or were driven onward to the south and east, in many cases owing to their dissolute habits, and in others to the violence of some encroaching and more warlike neighbour, the reverses of the nation are all vividly repeated in the life of Quetzalcoatl.

Was he originally a god of the air?

It is felt, however, by the authors of this quasi-mythic theory that the *deification* of the Toltec people, under the disguise of an ideal hero, is inadequately explained on their hypothesis as to the origin and import of the story. They accordingly attempt to trace it farther back into the region of pure mythus. They affirm that long before the age when Quetzalcoatl became the representative of Toltec nationality, a god with whom he was eventually confounded had been worshipped in the cycle of divinities who were supposed to tenant each one his own province in the realm of nature. Quetzalcoatl, as to the original conception, was, in other words, a nature-god, devoid of human form or human properties; and even after a prevailing tendency to anthropomorphism led men to devise for him a novel story, and invest him with exalted attributes befitting the ideal founder of Toltec civilisation, it is urged that frequent glimpses of his genuine character continue to be visible; they witness to the fact that even by the later votaries of Quetzalcoatl he was known to be a mere personification of natural energies. The sphere of action which, according to this view, the primitive world assigned to him had always been the region of the air. The symbols commonly connected with his worship were

the sparrow, the fire-stone, and the serpent; all of which the author of the present theory does not hesitate to claim as justifying his peculiar method of interpretation[1]. The god who forms and regulates the currents of the air is welcomed as the god of health and joy, of affluence and fertility. The struggle waging between him and the divinity Tezcatlipoca is resolved into the action of conflicting elements: the breeze of heaven, opposed and vanquished by the fiery sun-god, is compelled to seek a refuge in some distant clime to which the singing-birds all follow him. The ultimate return of the benignant Quetzalcoatl from the east is similarly identified with the recurrence of the trade-winds blowing from that quarter; the idea of him as the great national benefactor having been suggested by the plenteous showers which then descend in periodic blessings on the table-land of Anahuac.

Objections to this view.

Yet how plausible soever this interpretation of the story may seem at the first glance, it cannot stand the test of thoughtful criticism. Its author seems to have forgotten that Toltec civilisation, rising as it does alone like some oasis in the desert, is a fact demanding an historical explanation; and we naturally ask what better explanation can be given than that which traces known improvements to their ordinary sources,—to the genial impulse first communicated to a multitude by some one

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 593 sq. The employment of a bird to symbolise the air-god is all natural enough; but there is greater difficulty in tracing the fitness of the two remaining symbols. The fire-stone (sometimes black, sometimes green) is supposed to have been originally an aerolith; while the serpent is here viewed under its benignant aspects, as an emblem of rejuvenescence and fertility.

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master-spirit? He assumes that after a nation has grown weary and ashamed of its barbaric usages, there is a general disposition felt not only to personify itself, but also to bow down and worship such personification, as though it were reality. He assumes still further that a nation at this period of its growth is likely to engraft the worship of ideal heroes on some primitive worship of the elements, thus combining in the process two incongruous mythes, entirely different in their texture, and resting on a different basis.

The legendary hypothesis.

On the other hand, if we approach the tale of Quetzalcoatl, unencumbered by mythic theories of our own, we cannot fail to be impressed by the remarkable semblance of reality pervading almost every part of it. Embellishments there doubtless are in that, as in most other stories, which have been transmitted through the same precarious media; but the argument which prompts us to reject it as unworthy of all credit, on the ground that we can never wholly disentangle the historic from the non-historic elements in its composition, would require us also to resolve the brightest worthies of the Middle Age into a series of mythic beings, because some dreamers of the school of Simeon Metaphrastes have, in ministering to the unhealthy cravings of the period, garnished all their 'Lives of Saints' with fables and absurdities. Affected by considerations of this kind, the ablest writers on American heathenism contend for the reality of several of the leading acts ascribed to Quetzalcoatl. He is viewed as an *historic* personage: historic as Confucius, notwithstanding all the myriad temples now devoted to

his worship; historic as the Rajah Brooke in Borneo, notwithstanding all the wondrous tales which may, and probably will, be circulated in the Eastern Archipelago by the Dyaks of some future age.

Was he a native Toltec?

One class of writers[1] have discovered in the Toltec worthy an illustrious priest or prince of Tula, who on the decline of power and civilisation in his own locality had fled in search of his mysterious fatherland; but rallying his attendants for a while had been intrusted with the government of Cholula and had planted there a sacerdotal principality which long survived as the metropolis of some new system of religion. This method of accounting for the story fails, however, in what seems to me a most essential point. No circumstance has been more uniformly mentioned than the *foreign* air of Quetzalcoatl. He was a white man, wearing a long beard[2]. Such testimony to his strange appearance is remarkably corroborated by the language of the Mexican king[3] as handed down by Cortés. The story is there lifted altogether from the region of pure mythus. Quetzalcoatl is an ordinary foreigner, retiring hostile and indignant far across the waters and expected to return and conquer Mexico in the most literal sense. Nor is

Or a philanthropic foreigner?

[1] Prichard, for example, acquiesces in this view (v. 364, 365).

[2] Müller's only resource in getting rid of these peculiarities is to urge (1) that Quetzalcoatl was said to be of fair complexion, because his *vestments* were white, and (2) that he was said to have a thick and flowing beard, because the Toltec priests were in the habit of wearing their hair very long! Wuttke, on the contrary, is so influenced by these special features in the narrative as to pronounce absolutely on the foreign extraction of Quetzalcoatl: 'Dass die bildende Wirksamkeit eines Mannes von fremdem und *weissem* Stamme die Veranlassung zu der Vorstellung dieses Gottes wurde, ist nicht zu bezweifeln' (1. 262).

[3] *Ibid.* p. 261.

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it unworthy of remark that stories of white men were current in some other districts of America. The arrival of mysterious strangers in the highlands of Peru[1] had given birth to all the civilisation which it finally attained; and this commencement, a great writer has suggested, coincides in point of time with the original 'discovery' of the middle and southern parts of the United States by mariners from the north of Europe[2].

Other traditions of white men.

We are not, perhaps, at liberty to gather any definite inference, touching the origin of Quetzalcoatl, from the circular shape of temples dedicated to his worship: yet the presence of the symbol of the cross, embroidered on the long white mantle of his priest and planted here and there upon the shrines of Yucatan, has not unnaturally given rise to the idea that he possessed some meagre knowledge of the Christian faith. The Spaniards all grew confident[3] on witnessing these strange phenomena that the Gospel had been propagated in America long before their own arrival; some appealing for an explanation to the labours of St

The symbol of the cross;

how introduced.

[1] The two 'children of the sun' (brother and sister, husband and wife) to whom the Peruvians ascribed their knowledge of civilised life, were called Manco Capac, and Mama Oelle (*Ibid.* p. 305; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, pp. 3 sq. Lond. 1854): *cf.* Squier, as above, pp. 187—192, on other parallels, real or imaginary.

[2] Humboldt, *Cosmos*, II. 298, Sabine's ed.

[3] See Kingsborough's *Antiq. of Mexico*, VI. 418. On the other hand it must be borne in mind that the Spanish conqueror occasionally taught the natives to engraft the symbol of the cross on their abominable ritual. Thus Peter Martyr (of Anghiera, living at the court of Madrid) declares in his *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, Lond. 1555 (Dec. III. fol. 157): 'Owre men gaue them a painted picture of the blessed vyrgine, which they placed reuerently in their temple, and above it a *crosse*, to be honoured in the remembrance of God and man, and the saluation of mankynde. They erected also an other great crosse of wood in the toppe of the temple, whyther they oftentymes resorte togither to honour the image of the vyrgine.'

Thomas, others clinging to the thought that they had been preceded by the Spanish fugitives who left their country when King Roderic was defeated by the Moors; but all agreeing that the presence of their venerated symbol, in the midst of a revolting form of paganism, arose from the unhallowed commerce of Americans with the prince of darkness. It might far more plausibly have been contended that this hollow approximation to the ceremonies of the Latin Church, if not in every case fortuitous, was due to some extrinsic influence which is known to have been exercised by Quetzalcoatl. We are told, indeed, that in the Toltec districts he himself had introduced the symbol of the cross, and also recommended the practice of adoring it[1]. We learn again that his peculiar principles, whatever these might be, were rapidly diffused beyond the city of Cholula and survived long after in the sacred colonies which he had placed in Yucatan[2]. Yet, on the other hand, it should be stated that the use of crosses in religious worship might have been at first entirely independent of Christian agencies[3]. The passion for symbolic representations, deeply rooted in the human breast, prepares us to expect that any simple figure like the cross would almost certainly be appropriated in one or

Was this symbol necessarily Christian?

[1] Müller, pp. 499, 500.

[2] Above, p. 152, n. 1.

[3] So Mr Prescott seems to think (pp. 464, 465). In speaking of the early missionaries he remarks: 'They could not suppress their wonder, as they beheld the cross, the sacred emblem of their own faith, raised as an object of worship in the temples of Anahuac. They met with it in various places; and the image of a cross may be seen at this day, sculptured in bas-relief, on the walls of one of the buildings of Palenque, while a figure bearing some resemblance to that of a child is held up to it, as if in adoration.' The style in which the whole of this work is executed appears to leave no doubt as to its heathen origin.

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other of the heathen rituals of antiquity; and with regard to many parts of Central America, there is reason for believing that this emblem was religiously employed from early and præ-Christian times. Its office there had been to symbolise the god of rain[1]; and, consequently, as a form embodying the ideas of health, of joy, of plenty, it had grown into a common object of popular adoration.

Mexican theory of chronological cycles.

But whatever be the real import of particular features in the legend of Quetzalcoatl, I am satisfied that he presents to us one clear example, shewing the existence of some intercourse in very distant ages between the Old and New continents. Nor is this the only kind of evidence adducible in proof of such connexion. Many a tenet in the general creed of Anahuac bears no small resemblance to the dreams of Eastern Asia, and the cosmogonic theories of other ancient nations. It was held, for instance, quite as firmly in the New World as the Old, that the material universe had passed through a limited number of chronological cycles, each concluded by a grand catastrophe of which the agent was some one or other of the physical elements. To quote the language of a high authority, we shall find the same traditions in their substance 'reaching from Etruria to Tibet, and forward to the ridge of the Mexican Cordilleras[2].' The system of the Aztecs and Tibetians is

[1] Müller, pp. 496—500.

[2] A. von Humboldt, in Prichard, v. 360. See the whole discussion, pp. 357—361. The first age of the Mexicans (the Age of the Earth, or the Age of Giants), corresponding to the Krita or Satya-yuga of Hindustan, was held to be 5206 years in duration. The human race of this age was destroyed by famine. The second period was the Age of Fire, in which birds only escaped the final conflagration, except one man and one woman, who saved themselves in the recesses of a cavern. The third period was the Age of Wind

perhaps in one respect at variance with ideas prevailing in the different branches of the Indo-European family[1]; for it is said to recognise as many as *five* such periods in the life-time of the universe, while they give only *four:* yet even in the case of Mexico, we are assured, there is some want of uniformity as to the number and the order of the different ages.

Traditions of a Deluge;

What appears to be of most importance is the fact, attested by the hieroglyphic paintings of the Mexican as well as by the tales now current in all quarters from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn[2], that one of these great periods called 'the Age of Water' closed with a convulsion, the account of which, in all its broader outlines, is remarkably akin to the Mosaic record of the Deluge. It was not, of course, to be expected that discoveries of this kind, eliciting, as they did, from long-forgotten races of the human family a corroboration of the truths of Holy Writ, would be allowed to circulate without a challenge; and accordingly attempts were made in different quarters, either to explain away American legends of a deluge, or resolve them all into a series of 'cosmogonic mythes[3].'

or Tempests, which two men only had survived. The fourth period was the Age of Water, the duration of which is said to have been 4008 years. The earth was inhabited by men, whose mother was the 'Female Serpent' (above, p. 141, n. 1). Then came the period in the midst of which the world now is: its human population being all descended from one man and one woman, who were rescued from the general calamity at the close of the Age of Water. Some reflections on these subjects, as regarded from a geological point of view, will be found in Mr Hugh Miller's *Testimony of the Rocks*, Lect. VII. VIII.

[1] See, for instance, Part II. pp. 136 sq.

[2] Lüken's *Traditionen*, &c. pp. 216—235: Faber's *Origin of Idolatry*, II. 141 sq.

[3] Müller, p. 112. On returning to the subject (pp. 515, 516) he pronounces even more dogmatically:

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They were considered at the very most to indicate a popular belief in some 'creation out of the water and in spite of the water.' Yet so numerous, so minute, and so extremely arbitrary, are the points in which those legends are now found to have approached the sacred story, that some species of affinity between the two is far more generally recognised; excepting where an archæologist or schoolman is incorrigibly blinded by his love of system-building. Even the divines of Germany[1], beneath whose shadow every kind of mythic theory has sprung up with rank luxuriance, seem to have been almost reconciled to a belief, that the traditions now and formerly current in America respecting some great deluge, must have all been carried over from the Old Continent.

not mythical.

Specimens of these traditions.

Instead of dwelling on this subject, I shall ask the reader to examine for himself the following specimens selected almost at random, partly from the wilder tribes, and partly from the more refined communities of North America. The first[2] is still in actual circulation among the Cherokees; yet so

'In solchen Analogien mit der biblischen Flutherzählung ist weder eine historische Abhängigkeit der Urvölker von einander, noch ein christlicher Einfluss auf die amerikanischen Erzählungen anzunehmen, sondern selbstständige Gestaltungen.'

[1] Thus Ewald, in *Götting. Gelehr. Anzeigen*, 1855, No. 69, p. 688, shews a leaning in favour of the common view, which, on this ground especially, refers the peopling of America to immigration from Eastern Asia. With regard to the minute coincidences between the Mexican and Hebrew versions of the Deluge, he declares: 'In solchen wesentlichen Gleichheiten können wir kein zufälliges sich Begegnen finden.' One of the best-informed, and at the same time most dispassionate of American writers on these subjects (Mr Gallatin) has, in like manner, come to the conclusion that the native legends originated 'in a real historical recollection of an universal deluge, which overwhelmed all mankind in early ages of the world' (Prichard, v. 361).

[2] Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 358, 359, Albany, 1847.

peculiar is its form, that efforts have been made in vain to represent it as a recollection of some Christian teaching. In the gifts of speech and prophecy there attributed to the Dog, we are reminded rather of the service rendered to Manu, according to the A'ryan legend[1], by the mighty and mysterious Fish. The story of the American Indians has been thus reported from their own lips by an intelligent explorer of every thing connected either with their present or their past condition:

'The water once prevailed over the land, until every person was drowned but a single family. The coming of this calamity was revealed by a dog to his master. This dog was very pertinacious in visiting the banks of a river, for several days, where he stood gazing at the water and howling piteously. Being sharply spoken to, by his master, and ordered home, he revealed to him the coming evil. He concluded his prediction by saying, that the escape of his master and family from drowning depended upon their throwing *him* into the water; that to escape drowning himself, he must make a boat, and put in it all he wished to save; that it would then rain hard a long time, and a great overflowing of the land would take place.

The dog then told his master to look for a sign of the truth of what he had said, to the back of his neck. On turning round and doing so, the dog's neck was raw and bare, the bone and flesh appearing. By obeying this prediction, the man and his family were saved, and from these rescued persons, the earth, they believe, was again peopled.'

The other legends hereunto appended are both

[1] See Part II. p. 150. The difference is, however, no less remarkable. In the Hindu story, the Fish who acts as an incarnation of the Deity, is moving in his own proper element, and simply rescues the small remnant he has taken under his especial patronage; while in the case before us, the Dog, according to his true character, is made to die for his master's family in the deluge which he had predicted. Müller, it may be noted, suggests (p. 515) that Coxcox in the Mexican story of the deluge is himself a humanized representation of some ancient Fish-god, corresponding to the Dagon of Syria, &c.

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silent as to any warning which prepared the human race for the outbursting of the Deluge; but some of the minutiæ there preserved are most remarkable. The account is furnished by A. von Humboldt[1], one of the chief authorities respecting the picture-writings of ancient Mexico.

'Of the different nations that inhabit Mexico, the following had paintings representing the deluge of Coxcox, *viz.* the Aztecs, the Mixtecs, the Zapotecs, the Tlascaltecs, and the Mechoacans. The Noah, Xisuthrus, or Manu of these nations, is termed Coxcox, Teo-Cipactli, or Tezpi. He saved himself, with his wife Xochiquetzatl, in a bark, or, according to other traditions, on a raft. The painting represents Coxcox in the midst of the water waiting for a bark. The mountain, the summit of which rises above the waters, is the peak of Colhuacan, the Ararat of the Mexicans. At the foot of the mountain are the heads of Coxcox and his wife. The latter is known by two tresses in the form of horns, denoting the female sex. The men born after the deluge are dumb. The dove from the top of a tree distributes among them tongues represented under the form of small commas.'

Again:

'The people of Mechoacan preserved a tradition that Coxcox, whom they call Tezpi, embarked in a spacious *acalli* with his wife, his children, several animals and grain. When the Great Spirit, Tezcatlipoca, ordered the waters to withdraw, Tezpi sent out from his bark a vulture, the zopilote, or *vultur aura*. This bird did not return on account of the carcases with which the earth was strewed. Tezpi sent out other birds, one of which, the humming-bird, alone returned, holding in its beak a branch clad with leaves. Tezpi, seeing that fresh verdure covered the soil, quitted his bark near the mountain of Colhuacan.'

[1] A. von Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères et Monumens de l'Amérique*, pp. 226, 227. This great writer very justly asks: 'Ne doit on pas reconnoître les traces d'une origine commune partout où les idées cosmogoniques et les premières traditions des peuples offrent des analogies frappantes jusque dans les moindres circonstances?' That the South Sea islands are no exception to this rule may be seen in Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, I. 387 sq.

CHAPTER III.

Religions of Oceanica.

'I believe that the ignorance which has prevailed regarding the mythological systems of barbarous or semi-barbarous races has too generally led to their being considered far grander and more reasonable than they really were.'

The name of 'Oceanica' is here employed in its extended signification, as embracing the whole group of human beings who are scattered through the myriad islands of the Eastern and Southern Seas, from Madagascar on the eastern coast of Africa to the western shores of the New World. It seems to have been ordered in the plans of the Almighty, that the natives of this Archipelago should remain almost entirely strangers to the other sections of the human family, until upon the dawn of that eventful epoch which divides the Modern from the Mediæval life of Europe, all the bearings of the grand discovery could be adequately perceived. The Spaniard had secured his empire in America, and was introducing there some feeble germs of Christian civilisation, when the pride of conquest once again impelled him onward into other spheres of enterprise. A fleet, despatched from Mexico itself, in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, enabled him to plant the Spanish flag on many of the Philippines. The Portuguese, and after them the Dutch, approaching from the opposite side, extended the horizon of man's thoughts and stimulated the new spirit of adventure; while England, now advancing proudly to

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her place among the maritime powers of Europe, was importing from the Farther East not only the choice products of a tropical soil, but stories tending to beget compassion for 'poor infidels captived by the devil.' The first of her great mariners returned in 1580 from his perilous voyage round the globe.

General character of the region.

Henceforward almost every year was serving to lift up the veil that covered some remoter province of the Eastern Archipelago. Another world, as new to Europe as the continent discovered by Columbus, and affording not a few distinct analogies to that remarkable region, was now gradually laid open to the skilful navigator, and explored by men of science, and by heralds of the Christian faith. It stretched on every side in groups of islands, differing in soil and structure, as in geographical distribution; here presenting to the eye a mass of savage and volcanic mountains, towering high into the clouds; there a cluster of low coral reefs that scarcely peer above the surface of the water; here abounding in luxuriant pastures and sparkling like so many 'gems under the sunny sky of the Great Ocean;' there a long succession of untrodden wilderness and sombre forest; here suggesting the idea of an old continent dismembered and in part submerged, and there of one that seems at present only in course of formation.

The inhabitants of this region are at first sight no less various in their aspect than the island-groups on which they have been severally planted; and accordingly the first impressions of the European mariner who touched at several of these

groups in succession were commonly adverse to the thought of primitive unity. CHAP. III.

Original unity of the population.

He found the natives of different islands and different parts of the same island varying widely from each other in temperament, in physical structure, in habits, and in speech. Yet here, as we have seen already in America, it was rather to a superficial and unscientific gaze that local variations had presented insurmountable difficulties. Fresh inquiry brought to light fresh points of contact between tribes where such affinity was not at first suspected; and so numerous are the common elements of thought and feeling, language and mythology, which after a minute analysis are seen to underlie the startling discrepancies in physical organisation, that ethnologists on merely scientific grounds are more and more disposed to hesitate before pronouncing against the ultimate derivation of the Oceanic islanders from one parent stock. It is remarkable that within the last few years, the speech of the Malays, itself originally monosyllabic, has been grammatically connected[1] with idioms spoken as far northward as the confines of eastern India and western China; thus directing us again to the conclusion, that morally as well as geographically the Indian Archipelago is only a prolongation of the Indo-Chinese world, and Asia the great centre out of which the population of the whole had radiated long anterior to the birth of pagan history. This clear approximation in two languages, of which the seat of one is on the mainland, of the other on the islands, furnishes a fresh and

[1] See Mr Max Müller's 'Last Results of the Turanian Researches,' in Bunsen's *Phil. of Univ. Hist.* I. 403sq.

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still more definite link of union between Asia and Polynesia,—a link, 'which, even by itself, is strong enough to hold two of the mightiest chains of languages together; the Nomads of the sea extending from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of America; the Nomads of the continent swarming from the south-east to the north-west of Asia.'

Two existing varieties.

Neglecting, for the present, some few tribes of Oceanica[1], whose ethnological affinities are still undetermined, we shall find that all the rest are capable of classification under two great varieties.

1. *Papuans.*

The members of the first, and probably the elder of the groups, have very much in common with the Khonds and other primitive people scattered in the mountains and forests of Central India[2],

[1] *e.g.* The people known by the various titles of 'Arafuras,' 'Alfoers' and 'Alforians' (? Arabic الخوارج). 'Nothing,' says Prichard (v. 255), 'can be more puzzling than the contradictory accounts which are given of their physical characters and manners. The only point of agreement between different writers respecting them is, the circumstance that all represent them as very low in civilisation, and of fierce and sanguinary habits.' Yet even this representation is disputed by D. H. Kolff, *Voyages, &c.*, translated from the Dutch by Mr Earl (Lond. 1840), pp. 156 sq. Mr Earl's own account (*The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago*, or, *Papuans*, pp. 61 sq., Lond. 1853) is probably the most correct. He thinks that 'Alforias' is not a generic term for a particular race of people; 'but was generally applied to the inland inhabitants of these islands, to distinguish them from the coast tribes.' He derives the name from the Portuguese 'Alforias' = 'freedmen' or 'manumitted slaves;' but it would rather seem to have been imported directly from Arabia, and not through a European medium, so that its proper sense would be 'outsiders,' 'persons beyond the influence of the coast settlements.'

[2] See Part II. p. 206, where the earliest or præ-Aryan population of Hindustan are said to be 'very black, ill-shapen, and dwarfish, and to have countenances of *a very African character*.' The Papuans were certainly of the same race with the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula (Earl, as above, ch. IX.), and with the natives of the Andaman islands in the Bay of Bengal (ch. X.). Other woolly-haired tribes are also said to exist at present in the mountain-range which traverses the eastern side of the Indo-

and in some adjacent regions; but they most of all resemble the African negroes in the sooty blackness of their skin, their crisped and woolly hair, their broad noses, thick and prominent lips, receding chins and foreheads, and even in their general build[1]. These Oceanic negroes, also termed Negritos, and more properly Papuans[2], have now their stronghold in New Guinea, where indeed they are enabled to retain their old supremacy, as absolute masters of the sea-coast. In other islands, they are found at some distance only from the shore, among the woods and mountain-fastnesses, maintaining there unequal struggles with a different race of settlers, and in spite, as it would seem, of all their physical prowess, destined in the end to melt away. Their utter extirpation in particular islands is matter of authentic history.

2. *Malayo-Polynesians.*

The second group of Oceanic tribes and nations, by which indeed those great displacements were effected, is best known as the Malayo-Polynesian family, the brown or copper-coloured race. It seems that long after the Papuans were diffused in nearly all the intertropical islands, a fresh current of emigration had begun to set in that direction from the eastern continent of Asia. Lively, graceful, and in general structure not unfrequently reminding us of Arabs, these new settlers form a pointed contrast

Chinese Peninsula (*Ibid.* p. 158). To the early influence of this family may be perhaps attributed the fact that many of the ancient idols of the Hindus 'have negro characteristics' (p. 160).

[1] W. von Humboldt, *Über die Kawi-Sprache*, I. p. iv. Berlin, 1836. Some of the full-blooded Papuans have spiral and twisted hair growing in large tufts to a considerable length: others have hair growing in short and closely-frizzled curls: Prichard, v. 4.

[2] 'Pua-pua', or 'Papua,' means 'crisped', and, as referring to the quality of the hair, has come to be applied to the entire race: Earl, *Papuans*, p. 3.

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to their sullen, savage, and ill-favoured predecessors. Instead of shunning the society of white men, and thus resisting all endeavours to promote their intellectual and religious elevation, few of them have ever yet relapsed entirely to a state of barbarism. They constitute the demi-civilised population[1] of the Oceanic world. It seems most probable[2] that after entering the Indian Archipelago, upon their work of conquest or extermination, they alighted first of all in Sumatra and next in Java; thence, like genuine Tatars of the Ocean, they roved onward in their swarming *prahus* to the different coasts of Borneo, to the Cœlebes, and northward to the Philippines,—a group of islands where the traces of them are especially manifested by the regularity and richness of the native speech.

Probable course and stages of migration.

Advancing now beyond the zone of what are termed the pure Malay dialects[3], one section of this copper-coloured family appear to have wandered eastward in search of other territories, and, avoiding for a time all fresh collisions with the powerful Papuans of New Guinea and the neighbouring groups, had found their way to the Ladrones, to the Carolines, and ultimately to the Sandwich

[1] 'Alle diese Völkerstämme nun besitzen solche gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen, dass man sie mit Unrecht von dem Kreise civilisirter Nationen gänzlich ausschliessen würde. Sie haben eine fest gegründete, und gar nicht durchaus einfache, politische Verfassung, religiöse Satzungen und Gebräuche, zum Theil sogar eine Art geistlichen Regiments, zeigen Geschicklichkeit in mannigfaltigen Arbeiten, und sind kühne und gewandte Seefahrer': W. von Humboldt, as above, p. iii. On the contrary, few, if any, instances exist in which the Papuans have been known to manifest like qualities: cf. Earl, pp. 94, 111.

[2] See Shortland's *Traditions, &c. of the New Zealanders*, pp. 30 sq., Lond. 1854, and Russell's *Polynesia*, pp. 37 sq., Lond. 1852: where objections on the score of distance and the difficulties of navigation are fully considered.

[3] W. von Humboldt, as above, p. ii.

Islands on the northern border of the Tropics. From this centre[1] it is not unusual to derive the kindred streams of population, which proceeding southward occupied the clustering islands commonly known as Polynesia Proper, and penetrated even to New Zealand: so that, in the widest meaning of the term, Malayo-Polynesian tribes have been diffused across the whole of Oceanica, and have now become the dominant race, excepting in one narrow circle, where the elder family, as we have seen, with more or less admixture, still continue to preserve their ancient independence.

Foreign influences in the Eastern Archipelago.

But before I enter on some points relating to the native creeds of Oceanica, as brought especially to light by recent missionary enterprise, it is important to observe, that in the northern territory, or the part approaching nearest to the ancient seats of Asiatic culture, there were islands which had been indebted largely for the rudiments of civilisation to other and non-Christian powers, in ancient times to Bráhmanism and Buddhism[2], and in modern times to indefatigable preachers of Islám[3].

[1] Shortland, as above, pp. 32, 33. The New Zealanders themselves have preserved traditions of the voyage of their ancestors from Hawaiki, which this writer identifies with the largest of the Sandwich Islands: cf. the full discussion respecting the original 'Migrations of the Oceanic tribes' in Mr Hale's *Ethnography and Philology of the United States Exploring Expedition*, pp. 117—196, Philadelphia, 1846.

[2] See above, p. 81. As modified into Fo-ism this religion is still being propagated here and there by Chinese traders and colonists, *e. g.* on the coast of New Guinea and in Borneo.

[3] The Mohammadans entered the Archipelago in the 13th century after Christ, when their creed was very generally accepted by the Malays. See, for instance, Mr Horace St John's *Indian Archipelago*, I. 42, 274, Lond. 1853. At the present time this creed is again making considerable progress, as, for instance, in the Arru Islands, and even on the coast of New Guinea, with which it has been connected by means of some commercial intercourse between that island and the Moluccas.

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Hinduism in Java.

The island first and principally affected by these foreign influences was Java, which in turn, as the 'Phœnicia of the East,' became an ever-active agent for disseminating the new opinions through far wider circles[1], among the Batta of Sumatra, in the Cœlebes, and even on the western coast of Borneo. It is more particularly worthy of remark, that not a few of the ideas thus propagated over so large an area had been first imported from Hindustan by peaceful colonies of priests and sages, who without material succours were permitted to fix their residence among the natives, and had gradually instilled the principles which they brought with them, till at length there rose in Java a Malay community so tinctured with the languages, the literature, the mythes and the philosophy of India, as to furnish a most faithful copy of Hindu civilisation. 'Perhaps,' says a great authority[2], 'no second example is to be found of a nation undergoing such a complete infusion of the national spirit of another race, without losing its own independence.' If we fix our thoughts entirely on the province of religion, it appears that at some time or other during the interval between the Christian era and the introduction of Islám in the 14th century, the Javanese had to a great extent appropriated one or

[1] See W. von Humboldt's investigation of this point, as above, I. 238—254; and Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.* II. 1054.

[2] W. von Humboldt, p. viii. Elsewhere he writes (I. 4): 'Râma, Arjuna, die ganzen Geschlechter Pându's und Kuru's, und die übrigen Helden der Indischen Vorzeit leben nicht nur noch jetzt im täglichen Andenken des Volks, sondern mehrere von ihnen werden als einheimisch angesehen, und Java selbst gilt für den Schauplatz vieler ihrer oft besungenen Thaten.' Additional light has been thrown upon this very interesting subject by inquiries which have been since made into the literary remains of Bali; see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, II. 124 sq.

more of the indigenous creeds of India. This may be collected, partly from the numerous literary relics of the island which are found to have been based on corresponding works of the Hindus, and partly from surviving images and inscriptions, or from actual ruins of magnificent temples dedicated to the Hindu gods. It does not seem, however, that the new belief of Java was in strict propriety of language either Bráhmanism or Buddhism. The highest object of men's worship was Batára Guru ('the Venerated Teacher[1]'), whom his followers had enthroned superior to all other members of their pantheon. The best supported of the theories respecting him affirms that he was originally a creation of Bráhmans[2], at the crisis when they had been forced into collision with the Buddhists of their native province, and when consequently the necessity arose of putting forth a rival object, worthy to compete with Śákya-muni. The unwonted prominence ascribed to him in Java led to the diffusion of his name in far more distant regions. It is used, for instance, by the Batta of Sumatra to denote the first of three principal divinities[3], and in the

Specific character of the new creed.

Its wider diffusion.

[1] Some writers have connected *batára* with *avatára*, and so discovered an allusion to Vishńu; but the true etymology seems to be the Sanskrit *bhattára* = 'worthy of veneration:' Lassen, II. 1050, Weber, *Ind. Studien*, II. 126, note.

[2] Very different opinions are entertained on this subject, some writers labouring to identify Batára Guru with Gautama Buddha, others with a second Buddha or Bodhisatwa; but I think that Lassen's arguments are fatal to this theory (*Ind. Altert.* II. 1049 sq.). His own view is that the first Bráhmans, who settled in Java long before the arrival of Buddhists, were of the Vaishńava party, *i. e.* members of the Hindu sect which had invested Vishńu in particular with the attributes of the Supreme Being, and had put him forward, in opposition to the Buddhists, as *the* object of men's worship.

[3] These were Batára Guru, Seri Pada and Mangala Bulan; but if we may credit the account of some missionaries, there stood above them a Supreme Father and Creator, Debata Hasi Asi. According to a

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Cœlebes, Batára is said to mean the eldest son of the Supreme Being[1]. At the time when Hindu colonists and traders first arrived in Java, Buddhism, we have reason for believing, was totally unknown among the native population. It had certainly obtained no footing there as late as A.D. 414,—the year in which a Chinese pilgrim halted on the island for the purpose of investigating the religious state of the inhabitants[2]. Eventually, however, Buddhist doctrines seem to have been introduced in very many provinces, and, what is most remarkable, had flourished for a season side by side with one or more[3] varieties of Bráhmanism. To this harmonious coexistence may be traced the startling intermixture of religious dogmas in the extant literature of Java, the confusion of symbolic representations on so many of the works of art, and the uncertainty which now exists, and will most probably continue to exist, respecting all the details of her sacred history.

§ 1. *The Papuan Family.*

Low state of religious sensibility.

Our knowledge is more scanty still[4] as to the character and condition of the native races, ante-

native composition, some of the chief divinities were named, with obvious reference to Hinduism, Mesewara (Mahéśwara = Śiva), Bisnu, Brehma, Sri, Cala (W. von Humboldt, I. 238, 239).

[1] *Ibid.* p. 249. In Luzon, one of the Philippines, the name also recurs under the form *Bathala*, as denoting the Supreme God, or Godhead in the abstract (p. 251).

[2] See Lassen, II. 1041, 1042. Fahian remained in Java five months, and speaks both of unbelievers and of Bráhmans, but not a word of Buddhists.

[3] The worship of Śiva, in particular, seems to have been intimately associated with Buddhism (cf. Part II. p. 196, n. 1): W. von Humboldt, I. 280 sq. The effect of this unnatural union was to discountenance and displace the older worship of Vishńu (p. 288).

[4] *Ibid.* I. 72.

rior to the age when elements of culture were thus brought among them by the colonies from Hindustan. The absence of vernacular words[1], expressing the idea of Godhead in the abstract, has been cited as a proof that the religion of the primitive masters of the Archipelago was mournfully corrupted and debased. This verdict is emphatically true, as it applies to the Papuan family,—a race which constituted the first layer of population in the islands of the Farther East. At no great distance from the tombs and other monuments that serve to illustrate the ancient rule of Hindu civilisation, there are remnants also of this older race of Oceanic negroes, who, retaining all their inextinguishable hatred of the foreigner, have handed down the rudest possible forms of unimaginative superstition. Such, for instance, are the scattered tribes of Semangs[2], who still linger in the northern forests of the Malay Peninsula. They remind us not unfrequently of African negroes; but their creed has also much in common with that of wild Americans, as well as with the Shamanism that now predominates in all the higher latitudes of Asia, and in many of the oldest tribes of Hindustan. In these remote localities, we can discern no more than feeble glimmerings of the true religion. The idea of God has well-nigh vanished from the human spirit; for as often as attempts are made to hold

Papuan idea of God.

[1] Even the Javanese *Yŵang*, which was ultimately used by itself to signify the Godhead, does not appear to have had this meaning in the first instance (*Ibid.* I. 102 sq.). The common term for 'god-like' was *batára*, and for 'Godhead' *dévatá*, both of Sanskrit origin. A similar remark, touching the absence of all words which designate the Deity, is also made with reference to the Marian Islanders: Prichard, V. 176.

[2] H. St John's *Indian Archipelago*, I. 74.

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communion with Him she is always under the necessity of localising, or dividing, the object of her thoughts, until the great mysterious Power, of which she stands in awe, has been degraded into one or other of the physical elements. A *moral* order and a *moral* Governor of the universe are both of them conceptions too exalted for the dark and narrow faculties of the savage. Hence it is that few, if any, heathen of this class are ever known to pay their acts of adoration to the Being[1] whom in words they will acknowledge as their chief divinity: all worship is in their case nothing more than deprecation; it is ever tending to propitiate hosts of angry and malignant demons.

Worship of the dead.

Other points in which a family-likeness may be traced between the creeds we are considering, are the periodical commemoration of the dead, and more especially the worship of departed ancestors. For instance, the Ajetas, a Papuan tribe surviving in the Philippines, are still accustomed to assemble annually at the tombs, in order to deposit there fresh offerings of betel and tobacco[2]. At the time of sepulture the favourite bow and arrows of the hunter are suspended over his grave, from a conviction that he still enjoys the privilege of issuing forth at night, and so reverting for a season to his former occupations. Crude and childish as this fancy is, we may discover in it germs of a belief in some futurity, or reproduction of the present life[3].

[1] See Part II. pp. 212, 213, and compare E. T. Turnerelli's *Kazan*, II. 133, respecting the religious ideas of the aboriginal tribes in that neighbourhood.

[2] Earl's *Papuans*, p. 132. Tobacco was also offered up in sacrifice by very many of the wild tribes of America (see Müller's *Amer. Urreligionen*, pp. 59, 86, 92, 130, and elsewhere).

[3] See above, pp. 32, 33, p. 125, n. 1, on the analogous idea of the

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Have the Papuans a religion?

According to the testimony of recent travellers in Oceanica, the Papuans of New Guinea and elsewhere continue for the most part void, not only of poetic feeling and mythology, but also of those leading elements which enter into the received idea of a religion. 'We could not discover the slightest trace of religion among them,' such is the report of one intelligent writer[1], in speaking of New Guinea. 'The Ajetas,' writes a second[2], 'have no religion, and adore no star.' Yet, on the other hand, it is apparent from the context of these passages that the authors both intended by 'religion' a coherent system of belief and worship governed by a regular hierarchy. Of such there are no traces, either in the wild tribes of America or of the Eastern Archipelago. We ask in vain among those primitive people for the shrines and temples dedicated to the worship of particular deities. We ask in vain for any sacerdotal family, or any institution bearing close resemblance to the Hindu law of caste[3]. The right of sacrificing is there held to be the common property of all, and that in cases where it may be practically restricted either to the head-man of some patriarchal group[4], or else to seers and

Chinese and the American Indians. The Alforias, on the contrary, appear, at least in some districts, to have no conception of the immortality of the soul (Kolff, *Voyages*, &c., translated by Earl, p. 159). When a man dies, it is related that his friends assemble and destroy all the goods he may have collected during his life: even the gongs are broken to pieces and thrown away.

[1] Modera's *Reize naar de zuidwest Kust van Nieuw Guinea*, as quoted by Earl, *Papuans*, pp. 49, 50. It is worthy of remark that the same statement had been previously made by Kolff, *Voyages*, &c., p. 158, with reference to the 'Alforias' of the Arru islands.

[2] De la Gironière, *Souvenirs de Jala Jala*, quoted in Earl as above, p. 132.

[3] This is the more noticeable, because a species of caste-system does prevail in many parts of Polynesia proper.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 85, speaking of the natives of Dory, in New Guinea: cf. Part II. p. 212.

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medicine-men and wizards, who establish their pretension to a mastery in the world of spirits by the frequent use of exorcisms, of incantations and of magic spells. So far indeed are the Papuans from abjuring *all* religion that we find them everywhere betraying a keen sense of their relation to invisible agents and led captive by a number of most abject superstitions. They believe that the mysterious Power above them is discerpted and diffused in almost every part of nature, animate and inanimate; and selecting some one form in which this power is thought to be especially active, they embrace it as their fetish and their guardian deity. Such fetish is at one time a rude piece of sculpture, as a snake, a lizard, or some other reptile; at a second time it is a bit of bone or mineral; at a third it rises to the dignity of a human figure, small in size and absolutely hideous in expression. This third variety indeed, which in New Guinea is entitled *karwar* (a mean figure carved in wood and holding up a shield), may be regarded as their highest mode of representing or embodying the divine. It occupies a prominent place in every cottage, serving there the two-fold purpose of an oracle and an idol. The persons who consult it are said to 'squat before it, clasp the hands over the forehead, and bow repeatedly, at the same time stating their intentions. If they are seized with any nervous feeling during this process it is considered as a bad sign, and the project is abandoned for a time; if otherwise—that is to say, if they really wish to carry out the proposed object—the idol is supposed to approve. It is considered necessary that the *karwar* should be present on all

Their ideas of the divinity.

important occasions, such as births, marriages or deaths[1].'

Veneration of the waringin-tree.

Among the few minute peculiarities, which recent enterprise has brought to light, in aid of the endeavour to connect religious thoughts and customs of Papuans with those of continental Asia, there is none perhaps more striking than the veneration paid to the waringin-tree[2], a species of banyan or Indian fig. So strong is their devotion to it that the wilder tribes of Ceram lodge and almost live among its branches; and throughout the aboriginal family of the Archipelago[3], this tree has been no less invested with sacred and mysterious characteristics. A similar kind of veneration, we have seen[4], prevailed in every part of India from a high antiquity. The *vaṭa* was there absolutely worshipped by the superstitious multitude; beneath its sacred shadow the ascetic wasted his remaining strength in the attempt to consummate his reabsorption into Brahma; and thither, as their favourite haunt, resorted poets and philosophers, all eager to bestow on it their choicest appellations, and rejoicing to behold in its majestic form the 'tree of knowledge and intelligence.' If these coincidences do not actually warrant a belief that in the intertropical islands, as elsewhere, the veneration paid to the waringin-tree is a distorted reminiscence of events recorded in the opening chapters of Holy Writ, the general circulation of such a story both in Eastern Asia and in Oceanica will

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 84, 85.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 116: cf. p. 160.

[3] *Ibid.* where Mr Earl adds that the lower classes, at least, of China have imbibed precisely the same ideas, even where they are 'untainted with Buddhism.'

[4] See Part II. 138, and the references there.

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at least supply us with additional hints as to the ultimate and generic unity of the populations there located.

§ 2. *The Malayo-Polynesian Family.*

Ethnological affinities of the Fijians.

In passing from the older to the younger family of Oceanic islanders, attention is arrested by one special group, which either from a geographical or ethnological point of view may be regarded as transition-links between the black and copper-coloured races[1]. These are the Fíjians, lying midway between the shores of India and America, and on the very confines of the zone of population where Papuans are still intermixed with Polynesians proper. To what extent such intermixture has actually taken place in the Fíjí islands, may be very difficult to determine, either from the physical structure of the people, or the genius of their native language: but all writers on the subject now agree, that notwithstanding their generally dark complexion, they exhibit much of the plasticity, the animation, and the intellectual power which characterise their graceful neighbours in the Tonga or Friendly islands. With regard, however,

[1] M. Dumont d'Urville (quoted in Prichard, v. 243, 244) was the first to draw attention to this point, having observed that in many of their characteristic habits the Fíjians resembled the Malayo-Polynesians more than the Papuans: 'La circoncision,' he continues, 'se pratique généralement parmi les peuples de Viti [Fíjí]: le kava est usité chez eux, et le betel ne l'est point, bien que la noix d'arek se trouve sur leur sol. Ces îles sont donc la *limite commune* de la race cuivrée ou Polynesienne, et de la race noire Océanienne ou Melanésienne.' This intermediate character is said to find a parallel in the natives of Madagascar at the western extremity of Oceanica (*Ibid.* p. 253), who, although belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian family, have numerous points in common with Papuans.

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Their sanguinary spirit.

to the spiritual condition of the former, the reports of recent missionaries and explorers are both absolutely appalling. Those Fíjians who continue strangers to the Gospel, are the Aztecs of the Oceanic world. Their vigour is expended chiefly on the field of battle, and familiarity with bloodshed, while creating a fanatical depreciation of human life, appears in the majority of cases to be drying up the springs of natural affection. We behold in them, as in the Mexicans, a dark exemplification of the way in which some knowledge of the useful arts may co-exist with almost every species of atrocity[1],—with infanticide, with human sacrifices, with the strangulation of whole families in honour of some fallen chief, with brutish feasts upon the bodies of their foes and even of their fellow-subjects. It may be that very many of these horrible usages were first of all adopted under the influence of the devil-worship, which prevailed, and is prevailing, in every part of heathendom; but the Fíjians of the present day are instigated to commit such deeds of darkness, rather by a false idea of immortality than by eagerness to pacify a host of angry and vindictive spirits. Arguing, for example, that the state of man after

[1] The best, and indeed the only full, authority respecting the savage customs of these islanders is Wilkes's *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, Vol. III. Lond. 1845. The practice of putting widows to death at the funerals of their husbands seemed to W. von Humboldt a proof of Indo-Malayan influence; and, he might have added, that in both cases the future happiness of the victim was thought to be involved in this act of devotion; but among the Fíjians, widows are not the only persons so immolated; slaves and even children of the deceased sometimes sharing the same fate. Captain Wilkes's description of their cannibalism is inexpressibly revolting (III. 97, 102): cf. Russell's *Polynesia*, pp. 265, 266. The same horrid usages prevail as extensively among the savage natives of the New Hebrides and New Caledonia (*Ibid.* p. 427).

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death[1] will be at first identical in every way with that in which he died, they generally destroy a friend or relative, long before the natural close of his existence. They are guilty also, here and there, of self-immolation; in the hope of thus securing an escape from misery and decrepitude in this life and from permanent dishonour in the next. So rife indeed has grown the practice of strangulation or of burying men alive, from one cause or other[2], that only a single instance of natural death came under the observation of Europeans during a protracted stay in one of those islands.

Serpent-symbol.

If we now proceed to question the same authorities with reference to specific tenets there prevailing, we discover, as in Mexico and other regions, that the symbol of the mystic serpent has been always made to play a very prominent part. The highest member of the Fíjí pantheon, and the ruler (as men think) of all the island-world, is Ndengei[3],

[1] Wilkes, *Exploring Expedition*, III. 96. He had previously remarked (p. 94): 'This belief in a future state, guided by no just notions of religious or moral obligation, is the source of many abhorrent practices.' The report, however, of Mr Hale, philologist to the United States Expedition (p. 54, Philadelphia, 1846), is, that according to the general belief of those islanders 'the soul passes through two states or conditions of future existence [the first, of happiness; the second, of misery] before it undergoes its final destiny,—annihilation.'

[2] The cause may be, and often is, a real wish to benefit the person immolated; and it constantly happens therefore that a son strangles his parents at their own request. 'Mr Hunt did all in his power to prevent so diabolical an act; but the only reply he received was, that she was their mother, and they were her children, and they ought to put her to death. On reaching the grave, the mother sat down, when they all, including children, grandchildren, relations and friends, took an affectionate leave of her. A rope, made of twisted tapa, was then passed twice around her neck by her sons, who took hold of it, and strangled her; after which she was put into her grave, with the usual ceremonies. They returned to feast and mourn, after which she was entirely forgotten as though she had not existed' (p. 95).

[3] 'The word *Ndengei* is supposed by some to be a corruption of the

who, though manifesting himself, it is believed, from age to age in a variety of human forms, is actually worshipped as a mighty serpent; the figure of that reptile being dominant in all the representations, even where it has not been exclusively adopted. Some few glimmerings of moral consciousness are visible in the wide-spread notion that one class of disembodied spirits, who would fain revert to the immediate presence of the highest god, are constantly repulsed by an enormous giant wielding a large axe[1]. 'With this weapon he endeavours to wound all who pass him.' The approach to Ndengei is, however, much facilitated by the mediation of two other Fíjí deities, the sons of Ndengei, who connect the highest god with a descending series of minor spirits, each the tutelary genius of a single island or a separate tribe[2]. But here, as elsewhere, the benignant spirits are continually thwarted by the arbitrary powers of mischief and misrule, who constitute the gods of the infernal regions[3]. One of these, it is contended, sits upon the brink of 'a huge fiery cavern, into which he precipitates departed spirits.' Another ('the

Sons of Ndengei.

first part of the name *Tanga-loa* (great Tanga), the chief divinity of Polynesia' (Hale, as above, p. 184); which seems to fall in with the recent opinion that the Fíjians, if not originally Polynesian, adopted some of the religious tenets, as well as some of the arts, of their Polynesian neighbours.

[1] Wilkes, III. 83. 'Those who are wounded dare not present themselves to Ndengei, and are obliged to wander about in the mountains.' But as Captain Wilkes continues, "whether the spirit be wounded or not, *depends not upon the conduct in life*, but they ascribe an escape from the blow wholly to good luck.' A singular coincidence is found in some districts between opinions of the natives and those prophecies of Holy Writ which carry on our thoughts to the great winding up of all things. They hold, 'that all the souls of the departed will remain in their appointed place, until the world is destroyed by fire, and a new one created' (p. 94).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 84.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 84, 85.

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one-toothed lord') is pictured to the warm imagination of the trembling native as inhabiting the figure of a man, with wings instead of arms, and claws to snatch his victims. 'His tooth is large enough to reach above the top of his head: it is alleged that he flies through the air emitting sparks of fire.' The dread of such malevolent beings far outbalances the hope inspired among these tribes by vague ideas respecting the beneficence of other spirits; and as happiness itself is seldom there associated with the presence of moral qualities, either in the judge or in the human subject, but is treated merely as the fruit of chance or of caprice[1], the sentiment of fear is still more terribly awakened whensoever the Fíjían, in the hours of silence or of sickness, listens to the beating of his inmost heart, and communes more directly with the world invisible. To the consternation thus excited we may trace the number of the *mbure* ('spirit-houses'), where he stops to deprecate the powers of darkness and present his horrible oblations. On this feeling had been grounded the despotic sway[2] long exercised by the *ambati*, or members of the sacerdotal order, each of whom was venerated as the mouth-piece of a spirit ruling in one single district, and as able by his frantic gestures to ward off impending evils, or extort a favourable answer to the cry of the oppressed.

Bondage to fear.

[1] 'At Rewa, it is believed that the spirits first repair to the residence of Ndengei, who allots some of them to the devils for food, and sends the rest away to Mukalou, a small island off Rewa, where they remain until an appointed day, after which they are all doomed to annihilation. The judgments thus passed by Ndengei seem to be ascribed rather to his caprice than to any desert of the departed soul:' p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 87 sq.

We may perhaps discover some faint echo of a primitive tradition in the story circulated far and wide among the Fíjí islands as to the extraction of all human beings from one single pair[1]. The first-born of mankind, according to this story, shewed himself unfaithful to his Maker and grew black. The second-born, less biassed on the side of wickedness, was fairer and was better clad. The last in order of production, but the first in virtue and intelligence, were members of the white race. But a more remarkable coincidence is furnished by the legend of some mighty deluge, which, however startling from its close affinity to the sacred narrative, can hardly have been coloured in late years through intercourse with Europeans, since it is alleged that the precedence of one island (Mbenga) is derived entirely from the general currency which this tradition has obtained among the rest.

The story is thus reported to us by a recent hand[2]:

'After the islands had been peopled by the first man and woman, a great rain took place, by which they were finally submerged; but, before the highest places were covered by the waters, two large double canoes made their appearance. In one of these was Rokora, the god of carpenters; in the other, Rokola, his head workman, who picked up some of the people, and kept them on board until the waters had subsided; after

[1] *Ibid.* p. 82: cf. Hale's *Ethnography, &c. of the Exploring Expedition*, pp. 177, 178, where a similar tradition, long prevalent in the Tonga islands, is explained as 'an ancient mythos, under which the early history of the islanders is veiled, though in the passage of centuries the real parts have been forgotten, and the story has received of late a new application,' owing to the intercourse with Europeans.

[2] Wilkes, p. 82, 83. Mr Hale, as above (p. 55) confirms this statement, and conjectures (in a note) that the whole alluvial plain on the east side of the group of islands might be easily submerged by one of the immense waves that sweep across the Pacific.

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which they were again landed on the island. It is reported that in former times canoes were always kept in readiness against another inundation. The persons thus saved, eight in number, were landed at Mbenga, where the highest of their gods is said to have made his first appearance. By virtue of this tradition, the chiefs of Mbenga take rank before all others, and have always acted a conspicuous part among the Fíjís. They style themselves *Ngali-duva-ki-langi* (subject to heaven alone).'

Conversion of the Fijians to Christianity.

It is refreshing to narrate that, in addition to such intimations of original oneness with the rest of men, a nobler proof of the humanity of the Fíjían has been found, during the last twenty years, in his religious susceptibility. Those very islands, which were stained from age to age by every species of license and atrocity, have now become the starting-point of vigorous efforts[1] to disseminate a knowledge of the Gospel on the farthest shores of Oceanica. The mariner who touches now at spots where until recently no symptom had been

[1] See Russell's *Polynesia*, pp. 264 sq. pp. 420—424; and *Events in Feejee, narrated in recent letters from several Wesleyan Missionaries*, Lond. 1855. Until 1841 the progress of the Gospel was very slow, but in 1846 nine of this group of islands were wholly or mainly Christian, and twenty-four, including the two large ones, were partially illuminated. The following extract from a letter printed in the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* for 1856, p. 460, is a very remarkable testimony to the further progress of the same great undertaking. This letter is dated Viwa, Feejee, August 23, 1855: 'Thousands,' says the writer of it, 'have within the last few weeks abandoned heathenism, and made a profession of Christianity; and their conduct now presents a delightful contrast to their proceedings during the former part of this year. The first eight months of our residence in Feejee contributed some of the darkest records to the pages of Feejeean history; the most experienced missionaries confessing them to have no parallel. Now a glorious change is effected, by the power of the Spirit, in many towns which a few months ago a missionary or teacher durst not enter, the prevailing practice being war and cannibalism. The people then trusted to their gods and reverenced them, strictly prohibiting admission into their temples: now they crave teachers and books, and are endeavouring to sing the praise of God, and learning to read the Bible.'

shewn of spiritual improvement, is amazed on finding how the fiercest wolves of heathendom are tamed by Christian agencies, how cannibals have lost their relish for the blood of others, and how brutal and barbaric clans are being fast converted into peaceful confraternities. 'Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders.'

The New Zealanders.

But the Gospel has been also propagated in some other islands of the Archipelago, and has taken root especially in one distant group, of which the natives seem, with slight admixture, to be genuine Polynesians[1]. If the Fíjí islanders were made to furnish the best type of mixed or intermediate families, uniting the Papuan to the younger stock of Oceanic nations, an example of these latter, scarcely altered from their primitive condition, might be studied some few years ago among the people of New Zealand. 'The Maori of New Zealand,' we are told[2], 'are one of the branches of the Polynesian family, who seem to have been preserved, to the greatest extent, unmixed with foreign alloy'; and as the principal superstitions, until lately dominant in those parts, are said to represent with singular fidelity the state of religious

[1] Some writers have suspected (Prichard, v. 126 sq.) from the diversities of physical character that the Maori ought not to be considered one race of people, but are in reality a mixed nation, consisting (1) of the remains of an aboriginal population (Papuan), and (2) of a Polynesian race who conquered them, and became gradually blended with them by intermarriages. Yet similar varieties exist in all the other Polynesian islands, and as the natives of New Zealand are themselves unconscious of any radical distinction between the various classes of their own community, it is most probable that the existing variations of type result from certain differences of caste, which are extensively recognised among all the islands of the Great Ocean.

[2] Shortland, *Traditions*, &c. *of the New Zealanders*, pp. 79, 80.

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feeling which has long obtained 'throughout the great mass of the islands of the Pacific Ocean[1],' the Maori have on this account been here selected for a more particular notice.

Original character of the Maori.

It appears to be established that the colonisation of the group of islands called New Zealand is comparatively modern, stretching backwards at the furthest to a period of five or six hundred years[2]. When Cook approached that region in 1769, the natives had already earned a very bad pre-eminence; they were noted for their lack of conscientiousness, as well as for their gross and murderous ferocity; and the reception given to all succeeding visitors, of whom no small proportion fell into the snare of the infuriated savage, only added to the prevalent conviction that the people of New Zealand had become incorrigibly vile, and must in future be entirely abandoned[3]. The low tone, however, of the moral system there prevailing, the weakness of domestic instincts, the decay of

[1] Sir G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. xii. Lond. 1855; where the resemblance is thought to extend in some measure as far as the 'religious system of ancient Mexico.' It may be definitely asserted that the same general ideas, and very many of the same minutiæ, are, or were till recently, extant in (1) the Navigator Islands, (2) the Friendly Islands, (3) the Society Islands, (4) the Hervey Islands, (5) the Austral Islands, (6) the Gambier Islands, (7) the Low or Dangerous Archipelago, (8) the Marquesas, (9) the Sandwich Islands, the most northerly group of Polynesia; together with a multitude of smaller clusters, and, as the most remote of all the Polynesian settlements, Easter Island, which is at no great distance from the coast of South America.

[2] Shortland, p. 19; Grey, pp. 132 sq. Hale, *Ethnography*, as above, pp. 146 sq. This last writer, while agreeing that the New Zealanders are 'evidently of the pure Polynesian stock' (p. 11), cannot help noticing how, in complexion, form and profile they 'come very near to North American Indians.' Mr Earl (*Eastern Seas*, p. 277) is similarly struck by 'the extraordinary and almost perfect resemblance' which the Dyaks (a variety of the copper-coloured race) bear to 'those aboriginal tribes of South America, which occupy a similar description of country.'

[3] Russell, *Polynesia*, p. 347.

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Their religious sensibility.

parental authority, the desecration of the marriage-tie, the general disregard of human suffering, the perpetuation of a cannibalism, as rife and horrid as in other parts of heathendom,—these all were superadded to an eminent measure of spiritual susceptibility. Like the men of Athens, whom St Paul attempted to impress with the idea of one almighty and illimitable God, as well as of the common origin and consanguinity of the human species, it was found that Polynesians proper carried their habitual manifestations of religious feeling to a more than ordinary pitch (δεισιδαιμονέστεροι). 'When we compare them,' says an accurate writer[1], 'with the natives of Australia, who, though not altogether without the idea of a God, hardly allow this idea to influence their conduct, we are especially struck with the earnest devotional tendencies of this people, among whom the whole system of public polity, and the regulation of their daily actions, have reference to the supposed sanction of a supernatural power; who not only have a pantheon, surpassing, in the number of divinities and the variety of their attributes, those of India and Greece, but to whom every striking natural phenomenon, every appearance calculated to inspire wonder and fear,—nay, often the most minute, harmless, and insignificant objects, seem invested with supernatural attributes, and worthy of adoration. It is not,' he continues, 'the mere grossness of idolatry, for many of them have no images, and those who have, look upon them simply as representations of their deities, but it is a constant, profound, absorbing sense of the ever-present activity

[1] Mr Hale, as before, pp. 16, 17.

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of divine agency, which constitutes the peculiarity of this element in the moral organisation of this people.'

The Maori ideas of God.

What, then, was the general state of feeling in the heathen of New Zealand, with respect to a most vital point of all religions,—that of one supreme Creator? The reply is, such conceptions of the Godhead were unknown to them, and when at first presented to their notice by the Christian missionary, were received with no small measure of repugnance and contempt[1]. According to the Maori creed the ultimate origin of all things, even of the higher gods themselves, is Night and Nothingness. The wild traditions of that people, dating as they constantly profess[2] from ages long anterior to their settlement in New Zealand, all 'begin with nothing, which produced something, and that brought forth something more, and generated a power of increasing[3].' And as night, in their philosophy, preceded day, the oldest order of the Maori gods are also gods of darkness; one who has been deemed the prototype of all the rest is there entitled the 'Great daughter of Night,' the goddess of gloom, of solitude, of hades and of death[4]. There seems, however, to have always

[1] Thus Mr Taylor, in his *Te Ika a Maui*, or *New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (p. 13, note; Lond. 1855), tells us that 'speaking to Te Heuheu, the powerful Chief of Taupo, of God, as being the Creator of all things, he ridiculed the idea, and said, Is there one maker of all things amongst you Europeans? is not one a carpenter, another a blacksmith, another a shipbuilder?' &c. 'And so was it in the beginning; one made this, another that: Tane made trees, Ru mountains, Tanga-roa fish,' &c.

[2] Shortland, p. 42.

[3] Taylor, p. 14, Shortland, p. 39.

[4] Her Maori name is *Hine-nui-a-te-po*, which under slight modifications is also found in other islands, as in Tonga, Tahiti and Hawaii: Taylor, p. 41.

lingered in the mind a glimmering of some purer and more noble class of verities; men felt that spirit in its essence is superior to all forms of matter, and that thought must therefore have been pre-existent, planning and directing the formation of the visible world[1]. In this particular, indeed, we recognise a faint approximation in New Zealand to the cosmogonic theories that long absorbed the interest of the speculative China-man. The Absolute of the one[2] is only a more philosophic method of expressing the First Thought of the other. But resemblance is more clearly traceable in the texture of the ancient mythe, in which the moulding of the universe into its present shape has been referred to an abrupt division between Heaven and Earth[3],—the two great powers, or principles of nature, which heretofore were blended into one, or held together by some potent and indissoluble bond. Their names, according to the Maori creed, were Rangi (Heaven) and Papa (Earth)[4]. Till this divulsion, says a native story, the six children born to them were ever musing within themselves as to the difference between light and darkness. Wearied by the long continuance of impenetrable void, they rose eventually into an attitude of wild rebellion; and muttering to each other, asked what should be done with Rangi

Mythe of Heaven and Earth.

[1] Taylor, p. 14, who styles the first period in their mythological system the 'epoch of thought,' and observes with reference to this branch of their traditions, that they 'mark a far more advanced state' of intelligence than is discernible among the heathen of the present day.

[2] See above, pp. 46, 47. Mr Taylor, without making any allusion to these coincidences, points out some particulars of dress and manufacture which betoken, to his thinking, a Chinese or Japanese origin: pp. 184, 185.

[3] Above, p. 50.

[4] Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 1 sq.; Taylor, pp. 19, 20.

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Severance of these two Principles.

and Papa. 'Shall we slay them, or shall we separate them?' Tu-mata-uenga[1] said, 'Yes, let us kill them.' Tane Mahuta[2] replied, 'No, by no means, rather let us separate them; let one be placed above and let the other remain below; let the one be like a stranger far removed from us, let the other be near as a father or mother to us.' Five of their unnatural offspring hearkened to this counsel; one alone was strongly opposed to the idea of separation; five decided that their parents should be riven asunder; one only loved them. This affectionate son was Tawhiri-matea, the father of the winds, who, at the close of the catastrophe, determined to chastise his brothers for their foul impiety. Tane, who is viewed as the progenitor of trees, or rather as a tree himself, was shaken and uprooted; Tanga-roa, in like manner, the presiding spirit of the ocean, foamed and quivered under the avenging tempest; and accordingly the universe, as now existing, had been cradled in the midst of elemental wars, of furious conflicts, and convulsions.

[1] Sir G. Grey explains this word as meaning 'man,' or 'fierce man;' and Mr Taylor identifies Tu-mata-uenga with Tute-nga-nahau, the third son of Rangi and Papa, and the grand author of evil, who, according to the same story, 'cut the sinews' that united Heaven and Earth.

[2] Tane is the first of living creatures or emanations, and to him has been assigned the work of 'propping up' the heavens. This was his first great duty; afterwards we hear of him giving birth to trees and every kind of birds. The other sons of Rangi and Papa, were Tiki or Tii, a (male?) divinity from whom proceeded man (cf. Taylor, p. 23; Hale, *Ethnography*, &c. pp. 23, 24); Tahu, the author of good, but never prominent in this system of mythology; and Tanga-roa, the father of all fish, and the great god of ocean. This last name varying in different parts of Oceanica (as *Tangaloa, Tanaloa, Taaroa*) is thought by some to indicate a self-existent God, 'the creator of the earth, or at least of the islands of the sea, and of the human race' (Hale, p. 22). 'At the little newly-discovered island of Fakaofo, the natives spoke of him with great awe as *Tangaloa i lunga i te langi* (Tangaloa above in the heavens):' *Ibid.*

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The new race of divinities.

One result of the great severance between Earth and Heaven was the projection of a second order of divinities,—the rebel sons of Rangi and Papa, who are thus distinguished from the members of the older series as the gods of light. They constitute at present the chief divinities of heathen Polynesia; their place is in the highest and most glorious of the ten heavens[1]. Conjectures have been made to the effect that long before the first migrations of the Polynesian tribes, they were accustomed, as a people, to adore one principal divinity[2], who was, eventually, on the formation of the mythe respecting the divorce of Earth and Heaven, confounded with a son of Rangi and Papa, the marine god Tanga-roa. It has also been suggested, but with far less probability, that these islanders had originally confined their worship to three leading aspects in the character[3] of the Supreme Being, and had thus arrived

[1] Taylor, p. 17.

[2] Hale, p. 22. In the mythology of the Tongans, this divinity (Tangaloa) is made to fish up their group of islands and to cover it with fruits and animals, like those of Bulotu (his own special paradise), but perishable and of inferior quality. 'He sent his two sons, Toobó and Váca-ácow-ooli, with their wives, to people it. Váca-ácow-ooli was wise and virtuous; Toobó idle and depraved. Envying the prosperity of his brother, Toobó at length killed him [? Cain and Abel]. Tangaloa, enraged at this, sent Váca-ácow-ooli and his family with prosperous gales to an eastern land, where they became ancestors of the Papalangi, or White People. The descendants of Toobó were condemned to be black, because their hearts were bad [cf. the Fíjí legend, above, p. 185]: they remained at Tonga, and are the present race of inhabitants:' Prichard, v. 107, 108. I am disposed to think that the Orongo, Orono, and Rono of the Sandwich Islanders are only debased forms of Tangaroa; and it is curious to remark, that traditions were there also prevalent respecting visits of White Men as somehow connected with this divinity, insomuch that Captain Cook, like Cortés in America, was actually taken for their favourite god, and reverenced on that account.

[3] *e. g.* Hale, as above, p. 24; who adds, however, that the meaning and application of the three names which

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Maori polytheism.

at the conception of three grand personifications,—the Creator, the Sustainer, the Revealer. Still, whatever may be thought of these suggestions, it is clearly ascertained that the New Zealander of modern times, in common with all other natives of Oceanica, was in principle as well as practice an avowed polytheist. His pantheon, we have seen, outnumbered that of India or of Hellas. Everything that came within the cognizance of the senses was believed to be the organ of one special god, the offspring of one present and peculiar energy, which the Maori called its 'father'.[1] This diffused, discerpted Power was sometimes represented as devoid of form or personality; its mode of manifestation being absolutely identified with startling and mysterious processes of nature, as displayed in meteors, rainbows, whirlwinds, and the like. At other times, such manifestation was restricted to the form of a particular beast, or bird, or reptile, as the dog, the shark, the woodpecker, the rat, the ant, the lizard. Or in cases when the gods[2] assumed distinctly human shapes in the imagination of the Maori, and were consciously invested with human attributes, they always bore, as in the

he proposes, 'have been much confused.'

[1] See Mr Taylor's catalogue of some of these 'creative fathers,' pp. 32, 33, note.

[2] 'On nearly, if not quite, all the groups [of Polynesia] there have been, at a very late period, men who have been regarded by the natives as partaking of the divine nature,—in short, as earthly gods:' Hale, p. 20. At the Marquesas the common title of these persons is '*atua*, or gods, who receive the same adoration, and are believed to possess the same powers as other deities' (p. 21). 'At Depeyster's Group, the westernmost cluster of Polynesia, we were visited by a chief, who announced himself as the *atua* or god of the islands, and was acknowledged as such by the other natives' (*Ibid.*). These remarkable phenomena remind us very forcibly of the modern man-worship of Tibet (above, p. 92).

Character of the humanised divinities.

rest of heathendom, a close resemblance to their ordinary worshippers; and hence the brightest heaven of this mythology does little more than reproduce the various ills and conflicts of the present life. The history of a god, in other words, is that of some great chief or warrior, frequently disfigured by the grossest of all human vices, and too seldom calculated to suggest one noble wish or stir one generous emotion. These gods 'were cannibals; they were influenced by like feelings and passions with men, and they were uniformly bad. To them were ascribed all the evils to which the human race is subject; each disease was supposed to be occasioned by a different god, who resided in the part affected[1].'

Nature of worship in New Zealand.

The generic name of a divinity, in the language of New Zealand, is *atua*[2], varied in the other districts of Polynesia to *hotua* and *etua;* but, as might have been anticipated from the character imputed to such beings, they are seldom or never made the objects of religious worship in the Christian meaning of the term. The constant purpose of their votaries was to pacify, to vanquish, to disarm them. In the vast majority of cases, the *atua* was a powerful adversary skilled in supernatural arts, and rendered proof against all ordinary weapons. Hence arose the multitude of charms and rites of divination (*karakias*[3]), forming the chief

[1] Taylor, p. 34.

[2] Cf. above, p. 136: to which remarks it may be added, that *tua*, so far from being equivalent to *atua*, means in Polynesia 'back' or 'behind,' and hence a member of the lowest class, a peasant (Hale, pp. 31, 32, 335).

[3] 'They have spells suited for all circumstances—to conquer enemies, catch fish, trap rats, and snare birds, to make their kumara grow, and even

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element in the Maori worship. Every act of grave importance, hunting, fishing, war, the planting or the reaping of the *kumara* (sweet potatoe), was preceded by a multitude of solemn incantations, uttered with the hope of throwing obstacles in the way of some antagonistic power, of binding him by potent and unearthly spells, and so constraining him to waver in his purpose or withdraw his opposition. The same feeling was again predominant whenever the Maori brought his scanty sacrifice to one or other of the gods: he laboured to avert by offerings the displeasure he had previously awakened by the repetition of some mystic formula.

Worship of departed ancestors.

It seems, however, that a closer approximation to our ideas of worship was occasionally manifested in the tribute paid by Maori to the souls of their departed ancestors. These, also, were included in the multitude of the *atuas;* and on them, indeed, as genii intimately connected with the present race of men[1], the hopes and fears of their posterity were principally fixed. Each tribe, and single family of a tribe, rejoiced in the protection, or was trembling under the disapprobation, of its own *atua.* To that narrow circle he became the chief of the divinities. He issued forth to battle with his kinsmen; he was hovering near them in the hours of

to bind the obstinate will of woman; to find any thing lost, to discover a strayed dog, a concealed enemy; in fact, for all their wants:' Taylor, p. 72.

[1] Mr Shortland (p. 61) seems to think that these were the only *atuas,* who produced any sensible effect on the religious character of the New Zealanders. Mr Taylor writes in like manner: 'Their ancestors were addressed as powerful familiar friends; they gave them offerings, and if it can be said that any prayers were offered up, it was to them that they were made' (p. 72). The same has been already observed in speaking of the Chinese (above, pp. 32—34): cf. Russell's *Polynesia,* p. 69.

gloom, of peril, of privation; and so long as they were true to their ancestral courage, he was ever struggling at their side against an army of invisible assailants. When consulted by the Maori, on occasions of extraordinary moment, the *atua* was believed to give his answer by appearing personally in the sacred house to which his presence was invited, and discoursing there in a mysterious sound, 'half whistle, half whisper[1].' At ordinary times a powerful link between the natural and supernatural was furnished by the head-chief of the tribe (*ariki*, whether male or female[2]), who, as standing in a blood-relation with their patron-deity, was thought to be admitted more than others to a secret knowledge of his will. But, in addition to this higher class of mediators, very many of the principal households of New Zealand had their own *tohunga*[3] (family-priest or 'speaker'), occupied in uttering charms and offering sacrifice on their behalf. Him also a divinity was in the habit of possessing[4], and arousing to so great a pitch of fury, that the multitude who gathered awe-struck round about him were all eager to detect the will of Heaven amid the cries and horrible contortions of the seer.

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The ariki.

The tohunga.

In some few districts of New Zealand it was thought again that intercourse with the invisible

Image-worship.

[1] Shortland, p. 100, pp. 64 sq.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 84, Taylor, pp. 42, 43. The *Ariki* of New Zealand was identical with the *Aliki* and *Arii* of other islands.

[3] Mr Hale, however (p. 20), is disposed to consider the *tufunga*, *tohunga*, *tahuna*, *tahua*, &c. 'merely as persons appointed by the real priests, —*i. e.* the *aliki*, or chiefs,—to go through the drudgeries of their office, with which they are unwilling to be troubled.'

[4] Taylor, p. 41. The same kind of frenzy has been noted in the wild tribes of America (above, p. 130).

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[redacted] in strength, in cunning, [redacted] fortune. To astonish or to overreach them he would voluntarily assume the form and other qualities of a bird; and once, in this disguise, appears to have succeeded in gaining admittance to the subterranean world, in which his parents were detained. Ere long, however, it was found that the mysterious visitor was a man, or rather was 'a god,' and when his mother finally beheld in him her own little Maui ('Maui possessed [redacted] knot, or power, of Taranga'), her delig[redacted] covery was rapturous and unbounded.

[1] *e. g.* in the Tonga islands, it is he who supports the earth itself, and causes earthquakes (Prichard, v. 105, 152), just as Tane props up the heavens; and in the same district Maui, and not Tangaloa, wa[redacted] fished up those islands out of the sea with a hook and line. (*Ibid.* p. 106, note; cf. Hale, p. 23.)

[2] See Part II. pp. 114, 115.

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